

Causative make and faire: A case of mismatch

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Abstract

This paper compares the causative verb *make*, as used in verbal periphrastic causative constructions, with its intuitive equivalent in French, *faire*. Relying on a combination of comparable and parallel corpus data, it investigates the syntactic, semantic and lexical features of the English and French constructions, and examines the equivalents selected by professional translators to express the idea of causation in the other language. The analysis reveals that the apparent equivalence between *make* and *faire* is in fact deceptive. Not only do the two verbs show marked differences in their behaviour and preferences, but they are also rarely chosen as equivalents of each other in professional translations. The article ends with some implications for translation and foreign language teaching.

1. Introduction

Before the advent of corpora, contrastive linguistics mainly relied on intuition. While such an approach provided many important insights into the comparison of languages, the use of corpora has revealed, in contrastive linguistics as in other branches of linguistics, some complexities and subtleties that could not have been noticed by means of introspection alone. It has been demonstrated, among others, that cognates and other words traditionally described as cross-linguistic equivalents can actually display major differences.

In this paper, one such pair of words will be examined, namely the English causative verb *make* and its French “counterpart” *faire*. After explaining why these two verbs may at

first sight appear to be good equivalents, we will outline the data and methodology used to compare them. The main analysis will consist of two parts. In the first part, the behaviour of the English causative construction will be investigated in original texts and compared with the behaviour of the French causative construction. In the second part, parallel corpus data will be used to determine how causative constructions tend to be translated and, through “back-translation”, what they correspond to in the source language. These two approaches will lead to the same conclusion, namely that the equivalence between *make* and *faire* is only partial and that they each have their own peculiarities. The implications of this study for translation and foreign language teaching will be briefly discussed.

2. English and French causative constructions: Apparent equivalence

Causation can be expressed in a variety of ways – by means of a preposition (e.g. *as a result of, due to*), a conjunction (e.g. *because, since*), an adverb (e.g. *consequently, thereby*), a verb (e.g. *cause, kill*), etc. In fact, Xuelan & Kennedy (1992) have drawn up a list of as many as 130 different devices for expressing this notion in English. The device that has probably attracted the most attention among linguists, however, is the causative construction or, more precisely, the periphrastic (also called analytic) causative construction (Kemmer & Verhagen 1994). Periphrastic causative constructions are two-part configurations consisting of a verb, such as *make* or *have* in English, controlling a non-finite complement clause, e.g. *Mary had John come to the meeting* (see Baron 1974). They are found in several languages, as shown in (1) to (5) below:

- (1) Dutch *De sergeant liet de recruten door de modder kruipen.*
 The sergeant let the recruits through the mud creep
 ‘The sergeant made the recruits creep through the mud’
 (Stukker *et al.* 1999: 66)

- (2) French *Il a **fait** partir Emma.*
He made leave Emma
'He made Emma leave'
(Cannings & Moody 1978: 11)
- (3) German *Er **liess** seinen Sohn den Brief abtippen.*
He let his son the letter type
'He made his son type the letter'
(Comrie 1976: 271)
- (4) Italian *Maria **fa** scrivere Gianni.*
Mary makes write Johnny
'Mary makes Johnny write'
(Cole 1983: 115)
- (5) Swedish *Han **fick** henne att skratta.*
He got her to laugh
'He made her laugh'
(Altenberg 2002: 99)

Moreno (1993) notes the frequent correlation between *make*-verbs and the expression of causation. Thus, languages such as Korean, Tamil, Telugu, Indonesian, Jacaltec, Modern Greek and Thai all use a verb corresponding to English *make* to form causative constructions. This also applies to French, which, strictly speaking, has only one periphrastic causative verb, namely *faire*. And while in Old English *do* was the most common causative verb (Ikegami 1981), in contemporary English *make* can be regarded as the most prototypical causative (Altenberg 2002). This, in itself, is already a good argument for establishing a correspondence between causative *make* and *faire*, in the same way as it can be established

for other senses of the two verbs, cf. *make a cake* = *faire un gâteau*, *make a suggestion* = *faire une suggestion*. Another similarity between the two verbs is that, when used in a periphrastic causative construction, they have little semantic content of their own apart from the idea of causation. This is to be contrasted with causatives such as *persuade* and *order* in English, or *forcer* and *obliger* in French, which all have an additional meaning besides that of causation (*persuade*, for example, combines the idea of causation and that of persuasion).

From a more formal point of view, the two languages present a couple of differences. First the elements making up the causative construction are normally ordered differently in English and French, as appears from a comparison of (6) and (7). While in English the causative verb and the non-finite complement are separated by a participant known as the causee (*her friends* in (6a) and *them* in (6b)), in French the causative verb and the non-finite complement follow each other directly, with the causee (*ses amis* in (7a) and *les* in (7b)) following or preceding this cluster.¹

(6) a. *She makes her friends laugh.*

b. *She makes them laugh.*

(7) a. *Elle fait rire ses amis.*

b. *Elle les fait rire.*

The second difference is that the link between the causative and the non-finite complement is stronger in French than in English. This transpires, among others, from the contiguity of the two elements in French (see above) and from the position of the clitics belonging to the infinitive. While clitics in French normally precede the verb they belong to (e.g. *Je le vois* ‘I him see’, rather than **Je vois le*), they cannot precede the infinitive in causative constructions, cf. *les* in (8), but must be placed before the whole verb complex (9).

(8) **Je le ferai les planter.*

I him will-make them plant

(9) *Je les lui ferai planter.*

I them to-him will-make plant

‘I will make him plant them.’

Despite these two differences, however, English and French share the same general pattern for the periphrastic causative construction, with a causative verb followed by a non-finite complement, a causer initiating the caused event and a causee bringing about the process referred to by the non-finite complement. This formal similarity and the semantic correspondence described above seem to have been enough for a number of linguists and lexicographers to conclude that causative *make* and *faire* can be regarded as equivalents, see e.g. Tavernier (1967), who equates the two verbs, or the Collins-Robert Dictionary (Atkins *et al.* 1998), where they are given as first translations of each other.

The problem with these claims is that they are largely (if not wholly) based on introspection and, hence, do not necessarily reflect the reality of language, as several cross-linguistic studies on other cognates and apparently equivalent words have demonstrated (e.g. Viberg 1996, 2002, Altenberg 2001, Hasselgård 2004). This study, therefore, sets out to investigate the degree of similarity between causative *make* and *faire* on the basis of authentic language data. The investigation will use both comparable corpus data, to compare the features of *make* and *faire* in original language, and parallel corpus data, to observe the equivalence (or lack thereof) between the two verbs. The data and methodology are presented in the next section.

3. Collecting the data

The data used to investigate the degree of similarity between causative *make* and *faire* come from PLECI (Poitiers-Louvain Échange de Corpus Informatisés), a corpus consisting of fiction and journalese in English and French. Thanks to its composition, the PLECI corpus can be utilised both as a comparable and parallel corpus, as appears from Figure 1. On the one hand, since the English part and the French part contain texts of similar genres (novels and newspaper articles), one can study the features of causative constructions in original English and compare them with the features of causative constructions in original French, thus using PLECI as a comparable corpus (a). On the other hand, each text in one language is accompanied by a translation into the other language (parallel corpus), which makes it possible to examine the equivalents of causative constructions in the other language (b). In total, the present analysis is based on some 800,000 words from PLECI, as shown in Table 1.

@@Figure 1 about here@@

@@Table 1 about here@@

All the occurrences of a form of *make* or *faire* were automatically extracted from the corpus by means of Multiconcord (Woolls 1998). Thanks to the fact that the corpus is aligned, i.e. with each sentence in one language associated with its translation in the other language, the software is able to retrieve both the sentence containing the target item (here, a form of *make* or *faire*) and the corresponding sentence in the other language. Because the causative use of *make* and *faire* is only one of the many senses of the verbs, the automatic search had to be followed by a stage of manual post-editing in order to discard the non-causative uses of the two verbs. This left us with 109 occurrences of causative *make* and 355 occurrences of

causative *faire*, as summarised in Table 2. Finally, a database was created with a number of features encoded for each causative construction extracted from the corpus, such as the nature of the text in which it occurred (original or translation), its genre (fiction or non-fiction), the nature of the causer (animate or inanimate, nominal or pronominal, etc) or the type of non-finite complement used in the construction (volitional or non-volitional, transitive or intransitive, etc). By querying this database, it was possible to examine and compare the conditioning factors of causative constructions in English and French.

@@Table 2 about here@@

4. Features of causative *make* and *faire* in comparable corpus

4.1 Identity between *make* and *faire*?

Some similarities between causative *make* and *faire* have already been mentioned in Section 2. In addition to these, the analysis of the corpus data reveals at least two other similarities. On the one hand, the causer with both verbs is almost equally distributed between nouns and pronouns. On the other hand, if we describe the non-finite complement in terms of the threefold functional distinction (see Halliday 2004) between material verbs (i.e. processes of doing), mental verbs (i.e. processes of sensing) and relational verbs (i.e. processes of being), the distribution with *make* and *faire* turns out to be very similar, namely with material verbs predominating and relational verbs being the least frequent type of process. In other words, constructions such as those found in (10) are more likely to occur than those in (11).²

- (10) a. *The result, Pep II, creates millions of Bs and B-bars by **making** electrons collide with their antimatter counterparts, positrons.* <PLECI non-fiction OE>

- b. *Au moins, faites partir votre femme et vos enfants.* ('At least get your wife and children out', lit. 'make leave') <PLECI fiction OF>
- (11) a. *I have **made** it sound bad for me, but it was not so bad as that.* <PLECI fiction OE>
- b. *Je tenais particulièrement à les intéresser : je bêtifiais, je m'agitais, guettant le mot qui m'arracherait à mes limbes et qui me **ferait** exister dans leur monde à eux, pour de bon.* ('I was particularly anxious to arouse the interests of the men: I tried to attract their attention by fidgeting and playing the ingénue, seizing any look or word that would snatch me out of my childhood limbo and give me some permanent status in their grown-up world', lit. 'make exist') <PLECI fiction OF>

Such similarities seem to confirm the common view according to which causative *make* and *faire* correspond to one another and are used in the same sort of environment and with identical features. This, however, takes no account of the differences that are also brought to light by the corpus analysis, as illustrated in the next sections.

4.2 Make included in faire?

Among the differences between causative *make* and *faire* highlighted by the corpus analysis, the most striking one is a difference in frequency. While *faire* occurs 185 times in the original texts, *make* occurs only 42 times, which represents a relative frequency of 96.03 and 22.47 per 100,000 words, respectively. Put more simply, causative *faire* is over four times more frequent than causative *make*, a difference which is statistically highly significant ($X^2 = 85.89, p < 0.001$).³

Another difference is that *faire*, unlike *make*, can easily be used without any causee, as in (12) or (13). In English, the passivisation of the subclause, involving the use of a past

participle, makes the causee optional, as shown in (14) below. Causeeless constructions with infinitives, however, are limited to the idiomatic expressions *make believe* and *make do* which, in the corpus, do not occur at all. In French, on the other hand, causeeless constructions seem to be possible whenever the causee is indeterminate (cf. Riegel *et al.* 1994), as in (12), or when it constitutes given information, as in (13), where the causee clearly refers to Simon. Such constructions represent over one quarter of all the occurrences of causative *faire* (26.5%).

- (12) *Les grosses limousines noires, la persistance de vieux symboles, la présence à la tête du ministère de M. Evgueni Primakov, un ancien responsable soviétique, pourraient **faire** croire qu'ici le temps s'est arrêté.* ('The large black limousines seem like symbols of a bygone age. With former Soviet official Yevgeny Primakov installed as foreign minister, they strengthen the feeling that, here at least, time has stood still', lit. 'make believe') <PLECI non-fiction OF>

- (13) - *Je suis avocat stagiaire, reprit Simon. C'est beaucoup de travail, couché à minuit, levé à l'aube.*
 - *Il est dix heures, **fit** remarquer Paule.*
 ('– I'm devilling for a barrister, pursued Simon. It's a hard life: working till midnight, up at dawn... – It's ten o'clock, Paule pointed out', lit. 'made notice')
 <PLECI fiction OF>

- (14) *It is, says Fuat Süren, "opposed to the National Security Council, though it has not as yet managed to **make** its clout felt".* <PLECI non-fiction OE>

Moreover, the non-finite complement of the English construction appears to be more restricted in lexical terms, with fewer verbs recurring more often. Thus, the most frequent verb, *feel*, illustrated in (15), represents a proportion of 14%, and a cumulative frequency of

25% is reached after only four verbs (*feel*, *look*, *work* and *think*). In French, by contrast, the most frequent verb, *passer*, as shown in (16), represents a percentage of just 4%, and as many as 12 verbs have to be taken into account before the 25 percent threshold can be reached. In other words, the French construction seems to allow for a greater variety of verbs than its English counterpart, which displays a strong preference for a small number of words.

(15) *She preceded me into the house, smiling over her shoulder in a way unmistakably intended to **make** me feel at home.* <PLECI fiction OE>

(16) *Lucas sortit le premier, **fit** passer l'inconnu qui avait toujours son chapeau à la main et le tenait toujours devant son visage.* ('Lucas came out first and then motioned out the unknown man, who was still holding his hat in front of his face', lit. 'made pass') <PLECI fiction OF>

On the face of it, one could argue, as others have done before, that *make* is included in the field of *faire* (see Cottier 1992), as schematised by Figure 2. According to this view, *faire* is expected to have uses that cannot be expressed by means of *make* (such as the non-idiomatic causeless construction with an infinitive or the use of certain verbs as non-finite complements) and therefore to be more frequent. The inclusion of *make* in the field of *faire*, however, would also imply that all the uses of *make* can be expressed by means of *faire*. Yet, we will see in the next section that *make* has uses which are, if not impossible, at least less likely to occur with *faire*.

@@Figure 2 about here@@

4.3 Partial overlap between *make* and *faire*

One type of construction where *make* is significantly more common than *faire* involves inanimate causers. While with *faire* such causers represent a minority of 30%, with *make* they are slightly more frequent than animate causers (52%). In this case, *make* can therefore be said to occupy an area within the field of causation where *faire* is much less present. The preferences of the two verbs with respect to the nature of the causer are illustrated by (17) and (18).

(17) *She wasn't at all shy of us and what we said **made** her laugh.* <PLECI fiction OE>

(18) *Pour certains, le président William Clinton a cherché à **faire** oublier l'affaire Lewinsky.* ('Some of them think President Clinton was trying to turn attention from the Lewinsky affair', lit. 'make forget') <PLECI non-fiction OF>

Likewise, causative constructions where the non-finite complement refers to a process which is not dependent on the causee's will (non-volitional verb), as exemplified by (19) and (20), are more likely to occur with *make* than with *faire* (71% vs. 58%). This is another area where *make* seems to occupy more space in the field of causation than *faire*.

(19) *Tories pay obeisance to competition and free trade, yet huddle with Britain's farmers to support a protectionist racket - the European Community's common agricultural policy - that would have **made** Disraeli blush.* <PLECI non-fiction OE>

(20) *La voix d'Anne me **fit** sursauter.* ('Anne's voice made me jump') <PLECI fiction OF>

Finally, it appears from the corpus analysis that, while copular verbs are extremely improbable with *faire* (only one example in the data, viz. (21)), they occur with *make* with a proportion of almost 15%, e.g. (22). This, again, shows that *make* can fulfil functions which are not characteristic of *faire*, contrary to what the hypothesis of inclusion would predict.

- (21) *Les apparences biologiques et les effets bien réels qu'a produits, dans les corps et dans les cerveaux, un long travail collectif de socialisation du biologique et de biologisation du social se conjuguent pour renverser la relation entre les causes et les effets et **faire** apparaître une construction sociale naturalisée (les "genres" en tant qu'habitus sexués) comme le fondement en nature de la division arbitraire qui est au principe et de la réalité et de la représentation de la réalité, et qui s'impose parfois à la recherche elle-même.* ('The biological appearances and the very real effects which have been produced, in people's bodies and in their brains, by a long collective labour of socialisation of the biological and of biologisation of the social combine to overturn the relationship between causes and effects, and end by making them appear to be a naturalised social construction ("genders", as sexed habituses), as the grounding in nature of the arbitrary division which is the basis both of reality and of the representation of reality, and which is sometimes to be found expressed within research itself') <PLECI non-fiction OF>
- (22) *Her words pleased me, they **made** me feel needed and liked.* <PLECI fiction OE>

These differences between *make* and *faire*, and the fact that *make* seems to have further developed certain uses, suggest that the relation between the two causatives is not one of inclusion, with *make* being included in the field of *faire*, but one of partial overlap. While the

verbs share some uses, they also have their own peculiarities and preferences, which keep them apart from each other. This situation is schematised by Figure 3.

@@Figure 3 about here@@

Despite this dissimilarity, it might be that *make* and *faire* are the closest equivalents one may find in language and therefore appear as prime candidates for translation of each other. This possibility is explored in the next section.

5. Equivalence of causative *make* and *faire* in parallel corpus

5.1 Translation and back-translation

As already pointed out in Section 3, the PLECI corpus can also be used as a parallel corpus, allowing one to examine a word or construction in the source language and its equivalent in the translation. This additional way of investigating the degree of similarity between two words or constructions cross-linguistically will now be used as a complement to the comparison of their features in original texts.

The originality of the approach adopted here is that it is twofold, as indicated by the double arrows in Figure 1 – from originals to translations, as is the case in traditional contrastive linguistics, but also from translations to originals, in a move called “back-translation” (Ivir 1983, 1989). Not only does this twofold approach provide a broad overview of the different means of expressing causation but, as pointed out by Johansson (1998), it also makes it possible to control for translation effects (“translationese”, cf. Gellerstam 1986) by taking into account the “inverted” equivalence.

5.2 Mutual correspondence

A good measure of the equivalence between two words or constructions cross-linguistically is their so-called mutual correspondence, or mutual translatability (Altenberg 1999), which refers to the frequency with which the words/constructions are translated as one another. It is calculated by taking into account the number of occurrences of the items in the original texts and, among these, the number of items that are translated by the expected equivalent in the other language (see Altenberg 1999 and Gilquin 2000/2001 for further details). The resulting value ranges from 0% (if the two items are never translated into each other) to 100% (if the two items are always translated into each other).

For *make* and *faire*, the calculation of the mutual correspondence provides a result of 15.42%. Given that the two verbs are regularly presented as obvious counterparts of each other, this is a surprisingly low result. However, considering the differences highlighted in Section 4, the low mutual correspondence only confirms the hypothesis according to which English and French causative constructions are not as alike as a cursory inspection of the two constructions might suggest. After examining the few cases of congruence, we will turn to the alternative equivalents and see how they reflect characteristics of the English and French causative constructions in particular, and of the English and French languages in general.

5.3 Congruent constructions

Out of the 464 causative constructions found in PLECI, only 35 are congruent, that is, they correspond to a causative construction with *make* or *faire* in the other language, e.g.

- (23) *And they had perhaps partly succeeded in **making him overcome** his shyness.*
 = *Et ils avaient peut-être en partie réussi à **lui faire surmonter** sa timidité.*
 <PLECI fiction OE>

Interestingly, the cases of congruence are not the sort of constructions one would expect from the literature. Tavernier (1967), already referred to earlier, notes that causative *faire* corresponds to *make* when the meaning expressed is one of coercion, that is, equivalent to the meaning of “force somebody to do something”. Among the 35 congruent constructions, however, only 7 are of this type, e.g. (24) and (25).

- (24) *Hemingway **made me promise** never to sell it – his wish was that someday, when I was a lot older, I’d find a young man and pass it on to him as a symbol.*
 = *Hemingway **m’a fait promettre** de ne jamais le vendre – son souhait était qu’un jour, quand je serais bien plus vieux, je trouverais un jeune homme à qui je le transmettrais en tant que symbole.*

<PLECI non-fiction OE>

- (25) « *Vous n’allez pas me faire ça, **me faire travailler** par ces chaleurs... ces vacances qui pourraient me faire tant de bien... »*
 = ‘*You’re not going to do that to me, **make me work** in this heat. These holidays could do me so much good.*’

<PLECI fiction OF>

In the remaining cases, no volition is involved in the caused event, and therefore coercion is ruled out, for one cannot force a person to do something that is not dependent on their will. This is illustrated by (26), where the causee (*sa petite moustache*/his little moustache) is inanimate and hence devoid of will, and by (27), where the non-finite complement refers to a process that is not dependent on the causee’s will (*think/penser*).

- (26) *Il s’attendait à tout cela, évidemment, à un Comélieu nerveux et agressif, contenant avec peine l’indignation qui **faisait frémir sa petite moustache**.*

= *He had been expecting all this, naturally, expecting to find Comélieau irritable and aggressive, controlling with difficulty the indignation that **made his little moustache quiver**.*

<PLECI fiction OF>

- (27) *But though the irregular shape of the great kitchen **made one think** of a cave there was no suggestion of damp or darkness, the sun streaming in all day saw to that, and later the light of the fire that never went out.*

= *Bien que la forme irrégulière de la grande cuisine **fit penser** à une caverne, elle n'était ni sombre ni humide, car le soleil y brillait tout le jour, et dans la soirée, c'était le tour du feu.*

<PLECI fiction OE>

The small proportion of constructions expressing coercion among the cases of congruence can be explained by the fact that, generally speaking, the importance of coercion for periphrastic causative constructions has been overestimated. While it is not uncommon in the literature to find statements to the effect that *make* and *faire* express – only or predominantly – coercion (cf. Faure & Casanova 1968 or Werner *et al.* 1990 for English, and Cannings & Moody 1978 for French), such cases display a relatively low frequency in actual language – 17.43% with *make* and 14.93% with *faire* in the whole corpus.

It is also noteworthy that five of the congruent constructions are past participle constructions with *make*, as illustrated in (28) below. Given that such constructions occur only nine times in the corpus, we can deduce that there is a strong tendency for past participle constructions with *make* to correspond to a causative construction with *faire*. Example (28) suggests a possible reason for this. It will be noticed that in both the English and the French constructions, the causee is left unexpressed. In English, this is made possible by the

passivisation of the subclause and the resulting optionality of the agent, cf. *make its voice heard [by the population]*. In French, it is the possibility of having an implicit causee (see above) that is turned to good account, cf. *faire entendre sa voix [à la population]*. While they use different strategies to do so, the English and the French constructions, therefore, both serve the same purpose of omitting any mention of the causee, which makes them, in this particular case, good candidates for equivalence.

- (28) *Tüsiad, an association representing 400 leading businessmen and industrialists, who together account for 50% of the country's GNP, wants to **make its voice heard**.*

= *Tüsiad, l'association qui regroupe les quatre cents plus importants industriels et hommes d'affaires, et qui « pèse » 50 % du PNB du pays, cherche à **faire entendre sa voix**.*

<PLECI non-fiction OE>

The small proportion of congruent constructions in the parallel corpus means that, most of the time, another equivalent is used to express the meaning of causative *make* or *faire*. In the next section, we review these alternative equivalents.

5.4 Alternative equivalents

What is striking in the parallel corpus is the great variety of equivalents that are used to express the meaning of a periphrastic causative construction. Some of these equivalents are illustrated by the following sentences:

- (29) *Les tracasseries permanentes des autorités israéliennes au point de passage d'Erez, seul porte d'accès à Israël, **lui ont fait perdre** son année universitaire et renoncer aux études supérieures. ('made him lose')*

= *The constant harassment by Israeli authorities at the Erez crossing point, the only gateway to Israel, **caused him to lose** his university year and give up the idea of graduate study.*

<PLECI non-fiction OF>

- (30) (...) *comme pour **faire mieux apprécier** ensuite **au public** le miracle de l'harmonie musicale.* (lit. 'make the audience appreciate better')

= (...) *as though to **make the audience more appreciative** of the miracle of musical harmony.*

<PLECI fiction OF>

- (31) *That is what the expression means: to **make** someone **feel small**.*

= *L'expression dit bien ce qu'elle veut dire: « **rabaisser** quelqu'un ». (lit. 'belittle somebody')*

<PLECI fiction OE>

- (32) *It often takes something really drastic, like a rape or a death threat, to **make a person leave**.*

= *Il faut souvent une rupture spectaculaire (viol, menace de mort) pour **provoquer le départ**.* (lit. 'provoke the departure')

<PLECI non-fiction TE>

- (33) *Aux Etats-Unis, la prise en compte de ce paramètre **ferait grimper** de 5 % à plus de 10 % **la proportion de chômeurs**.* (lit. 'the taking into account of this parameter would make the unemployment rate climb')

= *If this parameter were taken into account, **the US unemployment rate would climb** from 5% to more than 10%.*

<PLECI non-fiction OF>

In (29), the equivalent is a causative construction with the verb *cause*. It was pointed out earlier that *make* is the prototypical verb for a periphrastic causative construction. Other verbs, however, are possible in English, such as *get*, *have* or *cause*. As for French, while it has only one verb to form periphrastic causative constructions, it has other verbs, more precise in meaning, which can be used in a causative construction (e.g. *obliger*, *persuader*, *forcer*, etc). The equivalent in (30) is also a causative construction, but this time with a complement different from the non-finite verb found in cases of congruence. Here, the verb *make* is followed by an adjective, *appreciative*. In French, it is normally the verb *rendre* that is used for an adjectival causative construction (e.g. *rendre heureux*, ‘make happy’). Note that nominal causative constructions are possible too, both in English and French (e.g. *make it their house*, *en faire leur maison*). Quite regularly, the causative construction corresponds to a transitive verb in the other language, as in (31). It will be referred to as a synthetic causative verb, since it makes it possible to combine the idea of causation and that of the result into one single verb (cf. *make feel small* = *rabaisser*). Equivalence may also involve nominalisation, as is the case in (32), where the infinitive of the English construction, *leave*, corresponds to a noun in French, *départ* (‘departure’). Example (33) illustrates yet another type of equivalent, with the causee, *la proportion de chômeurs* (‘the unemployment rate’), corresponding to the subject of the sentence in English.

The equivalents of *make* and *faire* fall into the same categories, namely verbal causative construction with another verb, adjectival or nominal causative construction, synthetic causative verb, nominalisation and a miscellaneous category. However, the proportions of these categories are different for English and French. Moreover, the preferences displayed by each language tend to reflect characteristics of the causative construction in this language or general characteristics of the language itself. This will be demonstrated in the next two sections.

5.4.1 *Equivalents of causative faire*

Table 3 shows the different equivalents of causative *faire* found in the corpus, together with the proportions they represent. The most frequent equivalent, with a proportion of over 50%, is the use of a synthetic causative verb, as in (34), where *faire porter* ('make focus') corresponds to *direct* (see also Chuquet & Paillard 1987: 171).

- (34) *Outre les plus riches de ses voisins (Taïwan, Brunei, Singapour, Hongkong et le Japon), la Thaïlande veut, comme le Vietnam et pour suivre l'exemple philippin, faire porter ses efforts sur des destinations du Proche-Orient tombées en désuétude depuis la guerre du Golfe.* (lit. 'make its efforts focus on')
- = *Along with its richest neighbours (Taiwan, Brunei, Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan), Thailand wants, like Vietnam, to follow the example of the Philippines and direct its efforts towards the Middle East, neglected since the Gulf war.*
- <PLECI non-fiction OF>

@@Table 3 about here@@

The predominance of this equivalent can be explained both by characteristics of the English language and characteristics of the French causative construction. First, English is described as a synthetic language, as opposed to French, which is more analytical (Van Hoof 1989). English is therefore likely to opt for a synthetic causative verb in cases where French prefers an analytic causative construction. Second, English is known as a morphologically flexible language (*ibid.*). Where it will turn an intransitive verb into a transitive one (35) or use a noun as a verb (36), French will very often have to resort to a paraphrase (see Paillard 2000).

- (35) *Rouge, le crâne poli, le menton sali d'une mousse grisâtre, bon-papa **me faisait** consciencieusement **sauter** sur le bout de son pied, mais sa voix était si rugueuse qu'on ne savait jamais s'il plaisantait ou s'il grondait.* (lit. 'made me jump')

= *Red-faced, bald-headed, his chin daubed with a prickly, frothy grey scum, grandpa used to **dance me** dutifully up and down on his foot, but his voice was so gruff one never knew whether he was speaking in fun or in anger.*

<PLECI fiction OF>

- (36) *Quand William Gladstone bouscula les tories en lançant l'une de ses premières grandes réformes radicales, qui consistait à donner le droit de vote aux travailleurs, sa réprimande **fit taire leurs railleries** aux Communes: « Vous ne pouvez pas lutter contre l'avenir. Le temps est de notre côté ».* (lit. 'made their scoffing fall silent')

= *When William Gladstone pitched into the Tories with one of his first great radical reforms (to open up the franchise to working men), his rebuke **silenced their scoffing** in the Commons: "You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side".*

<PLECI non-fiction TF>

Third, it will be recalled from Section 2 that in the French causative construction, *faire* and the infinitive cannot be interrupted syntactically. These two elements can therefore easily be replaced by a single verb, since they already form a syntactic unit. Moreover, we have seen that the causee is often absent from the French causative construction. While a periphrastic causative construction can potentially express up to three participants (a causer, a causee and a patient, which corresponds to the direct object of the non-finite complement), the causeeless

construction has a maximum of two. In other words, its valency is no different from that of a simple transitive verb, which has room for two main arguments. Translating such a construction into a synthetic causative verb or vice versa, therefore, does not require any major change to fit in the various participants. In (37), for instance, the French construction has only two arguments, a causer (*l'orchestre*, 'the orchestra') and a patient (*quelques sons spécialement discordants*, 'a few particularly discordant sounds'), and the causee is left unexpressed (cf. *faire entendre quelques sons spécialement discordants [au public]*, 'make [the audience] hear a few particularly discordant sounds'). In English, the causer and the patient become the subject and the direct object, respectively, of the transitive verb *produce*.

- (37) *La salle était immense et sombre, l'orchestre **faisait entendre** en préambule quelques sons spécialement discordants.* (lit. 'made hear')
- = *The hall was huge and shadowy, and the orchestra **produced** a few particularly discordant sounds by way of preamble.*
- <PLECI fiction OF>

The other equivalents are much less frequent in the corpus, with the next category, the miscellaneous one, representing a proportion of 17%. Within this category, let us single out example (38), which takes advantage of the morphological flexibility of the English language, already referred to earlier.

- (38) *Les villageois du côté albanais gagnent leur vie en montrant aux candidats à l'émigration comment passer la frontière **sans se faire remarquer**.* (lit. 'without making themselves noticed')
- = *Villagers on the Albanian side earn their living by showing would-be migrants where to slip across **unnoticed**.*
- <PLECI non-fiction TF>

The miscellaneous category also contains some cases of “zero correspondence” (Johansson 1998: 14), where the idea of causation is no longer present, as in (39). Note that (39) also illustrates a common strategy among the miscellaneous equivalents, namely the transformation of the causee (*le*) into the subject of the corresponding sentence (*he*). The same strategy is used in (40), where, in addition, the causer (*la chaleur*, ‘the heat’) becomes an adjunct (*in the heat*).

- (39) *La question de Dukes **le fit rougir**, inconfortablement.* (lit. ‘Dukes’s question made him blush’)

= *Now **he blushed** and looked uncomfortable.*

<PLECI fiction TF>

- (40) *Le vieil homme était assis sur une caisse d’emballage dans le petit patio desséché. Il était très gros et avait le souffle court: **la chaleur le faisait haleter** légèrement comme après un grand effort.* (lit. ‘the heat made him pant’)

= *The old man sat on a packing-case in the little dry patio. He was very fat and short of breath: **he panted** a little as if after great exertion **in the heat**.*

<PLECI fiction TF>

After the miscellaneous category come three types of equivalents, each with a proportion of some 10%, viz. a verbal causative construction with a verb other than *make*, a congruent construction with *make* and an equivalent involving nominalisation. We have already dealt with the congruent construction in Section 5.3 and will therefore concentrate on the other two equivalents here. Among the verbal causative constructions with a verb other than *make*, a distinction can be made between those that use a verb with very little semantic content of its own, like *faire*, e.g. *get*, *have* or *set*, and those that use a more specific verb, such as *force*, *help* or *order*. Of the two, only the former can be said to form a periphrastic causative

construction in the strict sense. In (41) *get* is preferred to *make* because it emphasises the idea that effort is involved in bringing about the caused event (Gilquin 2004), cf. *determined*. In (42) the use of the verb *keep* adds a durative aspect that is not expressed by *faire* – and would not be expressed by *make*.

- (41) *Aujourd’hui, il y a des millions de sociétés bien décidées à nous faire mettre notre vie entière sur le Net.* (lit. ‘make us put’)
 = *Today there are a million and one companies determined to get us all to move our entire lives onto the Web.*
 <PLECI non-fiction TF>

- (42) *Puisqu’elles ne sont pas là et qu’elles se permettent de nous faire attendre, viens danser avec ton vieux père et ses rhumatismes.* (lit. ‘make us wait’)
 = *Since they’re not down yet, and have the cheek to keep us waiting, come and dance with your rheumatically old father!*
 <PLECI fiction OF>

Nominalisation is illustrated by (43), where the idea of dreaming (*rêver*) is conveyed by the noun *enthusiasm*. This type of equivalent, incidentally, is somewhat surprising, given the supposed predominance of the verb in English and of the noun in French (Vinay & Darbelnet 1975 and Van Hoof 1989). It will be seen in Section 5.4.2 that nominalisation is equally frequent as an equivalent of *make*, which suggests that the opposition between verbs and nouns in English and French is not particularly relevant here.

- (43) *Les veilles d’élection sont traditionnellement favorables aux blocs installés, mais le Parti québécois, à vouloir calquer son destin sur le modèle américain, ne fait plus rêver.* (lit. ‘makes dream’)

= *Election fever tends to favour the established political blocs, but with the PQ staking its future on the American model, it no longer **inspires enthusiasm**.*

<PLECI non-fiction OF>

The use of a nominal or adjectival causative construction as an equivalent of *faire*, finally, represents a proportion of hardly more than 2%, e.g.

- (44) *Comme s'ils voulaient enfoncer le clou, les vaincus ont immédiatement **fait comprendre** à quel point ils ignoraient l'étendue de leur désastre.* (lit. 'made understand')

= *As if to ram the point home, Labour's beaten men have immediately **made it clear** that they do not see the size of their disaster.*

<PLECI non-fiction TF>

- (45) *En **faisant accéder leur pays au rang de puissance atomique**, les dirigeants indiens croient avoir entrepris le rééquilibrage des rapports de forces en Asie.* (lit. 'By making their country reach the rank of a nuclear power')

= *By **making their country a nuclear power**, India's leaders believe that they are altering the balance in Asia.*

<PLECI non-fiction OF>

Note that in (44), the use of an adjectival construction makes it possible to avoid mentioning the implicit causee of the French sentence. In an active verbal causative construction, mention of the causee would be obligatory (*they made X understand that...*). As for the passive verbal causative construction with *understand*, it normally occurs with a reflexive pronoun (*make oneself understood*) or, at least, with a possessive pronoun referring to the causer (*makes one's views understood*), and would therefore be very unlikely here.

The great variety of equivalents available in English to convey the meaning of causative *faire* might be explained by the relative frequencies of *faire* and *make*. Since *faire* tends to be more common than *make*, it is only normal that English should find alternative strategies to express causation. This, however, cannot be the whole story for, as will emerge from the next section, French too has a wide range of equivalents that correspond to causative *make*. The differences between *faire* and *make* therefore seem to be more profound than a simple difference in frequency would imply.

5.4.2 *Equivalents of causative make*

The various equivalents of causative *make* and their respective proportions are displayed in Table 4. The most frequent equivalent is the congruent construction with *faire* (32.1%), as illustrated in (46) below. This can be related to the higher frequency of *faire* and the partial overlap between the two verbs.

- (46) *She felt a terrible appeal coming to her from him that **made her almost lose her balance.***

= *Elle sentait venir de lui jusqu'à elle un appel terrible qui lui **faisait presque perdre l'équilibre.***

<PLECI fiction OE>

@@Table 4 about here@@

Almost equally important is the miscellaneous category, which represents a proportion of 29.4%. It is interesting to notice that these miscellaneous equivalents are often resorted to in cases where the English construction has features that are not easily transposed into French. Consider example (47). In English, the subject of *make* refers to an inanimate entity, *the very*

intensity of her devotion. We saw in Section 4.3, however, that inanimate causers are relatively infrequent in French. By turning the causer into an adjunct (*par excès de tendresse*, ‘by an excess of tenderness’) and making the causee, *her/Lady O’Connell*, the subject of the French sentence, one can therefore produce a structure that sounds more natural than a literal translation would.

- (47) ***It was the very intensity of her devotion that had made her*** give him a softness of upbringing that was about the cruellest thing she could have given him.

= *Par excès de tendresse, Lady O’Connell l’éleva avec une faiblesse qui était bien la pire des cruautés*. (lit. ‘By an excess of tenderness’)

<PLECI fiction OE>

Sentence (48), already quoted, is another case in point. The fact that copular verbs are extremely rare with *faire* may explain why another type of equivalent (*à m’entendre*, ‘upon hearing me’) is preferred in French when the English causative construction contains such a verb (*sound*).

- (48) ***I have made it sound bad for me***, but it was not so bad as that.

= *À m’entendre, on pourrait s’imaginer que j’en souffrais, mais en réalité ce n’était pas si dramatique*. (lit. ‘Upon hearing me’)

<PLECI fiction OE>

Although it represents a smaller proportion than as an equivalent of *faire*, the use of a synthetic causative verb is still a relatively common option (15.6%). However, it has this particular characteristic that in a large majority of the cases (82%), it corresponds to a causative construction in which *make* is followed by an intransitive non-finite complement, such as *shine* in (49).

- (49) *Drawings and slogans enliven the walls: “Books are bright lights that **make our lives shine**” and “To have a clean and beautiful environment we must cooperate”.*

= *Des dessins et des slogans animent les murs : « Le livre est une lumière qui **nous illumine** ». « Il faut coopérer pour plus de beauté et pour un environnement propre ». (lit. ‘The book is a light that illuminates us’)*

<PLECI non-fiction TE>

This has to do with the valency of the causative construction, already alluded to with respect to French causeless constructions. With a transitive non-finite complement, the causative construction contains, in addition to the causer and the causee, a patient, which is the direct object of the non-finite complement. Thus, (50) is a three-argument construction, with a causer, *the Seven Dwarfs*, a causee, *Snow-White’s stepmother*, and a patient, *the red-hot iron boots*.

- (50) *Indeed, the red-hot iron boots which the Seven Dwarfs **made Snow-White’s stepmother wear** and the flames burning Lucifer in hell never evoked in my mind the image of physical suffering.*

= *A vrai dire, les brodequins de fer rougi dont les nains **chaussaient la marâtre de Blanche-Neige**, les flammes où cuisait Lucifer, n’évoquaient jamais pour moi l’image d’une chair souffrante. (lit. ‘put shoes on Snow-White’s stepmother’)*

<PLECI fiction TE>

Using a synthetic causative verb to convey the same meaning in French is complex, since such a verb has only room for two main arguments, a subject and a direct object. One therefore has to find a way to integrate the third argument somehow. In (50), for instance, the

idea of the patient is expressed both by the verb *chausser* ('to put shoes on'), which includes the notion of *boots*, and the prepositional phrase *de brodequins de fer rougi* (cf. *les brodequins de fer rougi dont...*, 'the red-hot iron boots with which...'). If, on the other hand, the non-finite complement is intransitive, as in (49), the transposition is more straightforward: the causer becomes the subject of the synthetic causative verb (*bright lights* – *une lumière*), while the causee becomes its direct object (*our lives* – *nous*). It is no wonder, therefore, that causative constructions with an intransitive non-finite complement are more prone to correspond to a synthetic verb than causative constructions with a transitive non-finite complement.

The next two categories of equivalents, nominalisation and verbal causative construction with another verb, both have a proportion of some 10%, which roughly corresponds to their proportion as equivalents of *faire* (Section 5.4.1). Nominalisation is illustrated by (51), where the non-finite complement in English, *fear*, is expressed in French by means of a noun, *craintes* ('fears'). Note that some of these equivalents in French seem to have reached a status close to that of idiomatic expression, e.g. *make someone want to/feel like* = *donner envie de* ('give the desire to'); *make someone look like* = *donner l'air de* ('give the look of'), as exemplified by (52) and (53).

- (51) *He had the choleric temper that goes with ginger hair, touchingly combined with a vast patience and a superb courage, so that though his language in the face of disaster was enough to **make** all the godly within miles **fear** for his immortal soul his method of dealing with it would have commended itself to the greatest of the saints.*
- = *Le caractère emporté qui va de pair avec les cheveux roux se combinait en lui, de façon touchante, avec une patience inépuisable et un fier courage : devant le malheur, son langage pouvait **inspirer des craintes sérieuses** pour le*

salut de son âme immortelle, mais en revanche sa conduite était digne d'un véritable saint. (lit. 'to inspire serious fears')

<PLECI fiction OE>

- (52) *Her sudden gentleness after my intemperate rage **made me want** to burst into tears.*

= *Cette subite douceur, mon excès de violence précédent **me donnaient envie** de pleurer.* (lit. 'gave me the desire')

<PLECI fiction TE>

- (53) *I bent an anxious, pleading face over her, drawing in my cheeks to **make myself look like** an overworked intellectual.*

= *Je penchai sur elle un visage inquiet, suppliant, en ravalant encore mes joues pour **me donner l'air d'**une intellectuelle surmenée.* (lit. 'give me the look of')

<PLECI fiction TE>

The use of a verbal causative construction with a verb other than *faire* necessarily conveys a more specific type of causation than the English construction with *make*, since French has only one verb which, like *make*, merely expresses causation, viz. *faire*. The other verbs are more specific in meaning, e.g. *obliger*, *pousser à*, *permettre*. In (54), while the English sentence is indeterminate as to the means that were used to achieve the desired effect (it could imply that the causers force widows to marry them or that they act more indirectly, for example by being particularly gallant or by displaying their riches), the French sentence makes it clear that it is coercion that is used to bring about the caused event.

- (54) *And they **make** widows marry them, especially the good-looking ones.*

= *Et ils **obligent** les veuves à les épouser, surtout quand elles sont belles.* (lit. 'oblige')

<PLECI non-fiction TE>

As was the case for the equivalents of *faire*, finally, the least frequent category, with a proportion of 3.7%, is that of the adjectival or nominal causative construction, as illustrated by (55) and (56).

- (55) *But this sudden call of the sun **made** the tiling of the cafés and the aisles of the large stores **seem repugnant**.*

= *Mais ce brusque rappel du soleil **rendait odieux** les carrelages des cafés et les couloirs des grands magasins.* (lit. ‘render odious’)

<PLECI fiction TE>

- (56) *True, the writer went on to explain that the sum in question was the official charge for the documents which a Cuban woman needed in order to marry a foreigner. But the ambiguously worded article **made the Cuban authorities sound like some sort of pimp**.*

= *Certes, le journaliste expliquait après qu’il s’agissait du tarif administratif officiel pour constituer le dossier permettant à une Cubaine d’épouser un étranger, mais le texte restait ambigu et **faisait du régime cubain une sorte de souteneur...*** (lit. ‘made the Cuban regime a sort of pimp’)

<PLECI non-fiction TE>

It is interesting to note that, of the four constructions that use such an equivalent, three contain a copular verb in English (cf. *seem* in (55) and *sound* in (56)), a type of verb which, as we saw, rarely occurs in French verbal causative constructions. This, again, shows that alternative equivalents are chosen when the use of a periphrastic causative construction would produce a sentence which is not in accordance with the characteristics of the language.

6. Causative *make* and *faire*: Deceptive equivalence – and some implications

Whether we compare English and French causative constructions in a comparable or parallel corpus, the analysis of authentic data reveals that *make* and *faire* are not the perfect equivalents that they might at first sight appear to be – and that they are regularly claimed to be in the literature. The naïve conception of *make* as being included in the field of *faire* has also been proved wrong, since *make* has particular uses which are, if not impossible, at least less likely with *faire*. Although they do share some characteristics, *make* and *faire* are essentially different verbs and, therefore, deceptive equivalents. Consequently, the causative construction in one language rarely corresponds to a congruent construction in the other language, as the low degree of mutual translatability shows, and each language has a wide range of alternatives available to express a similar meaning, more in accordance with its distinctive characteristics. In fact, even in cases where causative *make* and *faire* correspond to each other, differences may arise which reflect the features of each language. Consider for instance (57), where the inanimate causer in English (*it*) has become an animate causer in French (*vous*, ‘you’), thus respecting the French preference for animate subjects in causative constructions with *faire*.

- (57) *Mr Tench said gloomily, “Forty hours from now and we’d be there; The Diligencia. A good hotel. Dance places too. A gay town.” “It **makes** it seem close,” the stranger said. “And a ticket, how much would that be?”*
 = *D’un air sombre, Mr Tench répondit : « D’ici, nous pourrions y arriver en quarante heures. La Diligencia : un bon hôtel. Et puis les boîtes où l’on danse. Ville gaie. » « Vous la **faites** paraître toute proche. Et le billet? Combien coûterait-il? »* (lit. ‘You make it seem very close’)
 <PLECI fiction OE>

These findings have obvious implications for translation and the training of translators. Trainee translators' attention should be directed towards the lack of equivalence between causative *make* and *faire* and, more generally, between pairs of words which resemble each other (and may be described as equivalents in intuition-based reference tools), but whose close investigation reveals important discrepancies. Translators should also be trained to choose alternatives which respect the characteristics of the target language, even if this implies reorganising the structure of the sentence completely. In addition, the results of a study such as this one might be exploited in the domain of machine translation. Using information about the features of the elements making up the causative construction (e.g. animate or inanimate causer, nominal or pronominal causee, transitive or intransitive non-finite complement) and the likelihood that a particular combination of elements will have a given equivalent in the target language, one might develop algorithms for the translation of causative *make* and *faire*, in the same vein as the rules formulated by Salkoff (1999).

The deceptive equivalence between causative *make* and *faire* also has important consequences for foreign language teaching. For learners, the surface similarities between the two constructions (see Section 2) are often enough to justify their being equated, an intuition which is confirmed by a number of bilingual dictionaries and traditional contrastive grammars. Because each construction has its own peculiarities, however, it will not do to simply transpose the characteristics of the construction in one's mother tongue into the target language.⁴ This can only result in the incorrect use of the construction, as described by Altenberg & Granger (2001) for Swedish- and French-speaking learners of English.⁵ Like trainee translators, learners should therefore be made aware of the differences that exist between the two constructions and avoid drawing simplistic parallels between their mother tongue and the target language.

7. Conclusion

Using PLECI both as a comparable and parallel corpus, it has been shown that the supposed equivalence between causative *make* and *faire* does not stand up to close scrutiny and that, as demonstrated for other pairs of words cross-linguistically, the degree of similarity between them turns out to be smaller than one would have expected. Besides the much discussed syntactic difference (the link between the causative verb and the non-finite complement is stronger in French than in English), the two verbs appear to display different preferences in terms of (semantic and lexical) conditioning factors. These explain why *make* and *faire* correspond to each other in only a small proportion of their occurrences. In the other cases, each language tends to favour equivalents which are more respectful of the principles governing it.

Before the era of corpus linguistics, such a mismatch would probably have struck one as quite unexpected. Now that we have access to large amounts of authentic contrastive data, however, these results come as less of a surprise. Black and white pictures of identity vs. discrepancy between words or constructions gradually disappear and make way for more nuanced descriptions of the complex relationships that hold between linguistic items cross-linguistically. These descriptions, at the same time, shed light on each individual language and reveal a treasure trove of curiosities and idiosyncrasies. No doubt many hidden treasures still remain to be uncovered.

Notes

1. Structures such as the following, however, are possible: *Fais-lui signer la lettre* (imperative form, ‘Make him sign the letter’), *Rien ne me **fera** vous suivre* (Riegel *et al.* 1994: 229, ‘Nothing me will-make you follow’, i.e. ‘Nothing will make me follow you’) or, in particular circumstances, *He has **made** known its advantages and disadvantages*.

2. The code between angle brackets indicates which part of the PLECI corpus the sentence comes from – fiction or non-fiction, and original English (OE), original French (OF), translated English (TE) or translated French (TF). The English translations of the French sentences come from the parallel corpus. When necessary, a literal translation of the causative verb and its non-finite complement has been provided.

3. Note that this difference in frequency remains even if translations are taken into account too. Thus, the relative frequency of *make* in the whole corpus amounts to 28 per 100,000 words, against 90 for *faire* (see Table 2).

4. See Gilquin (2000/2001) on the role of transfer in the use of English causative constructions with *make* by advanced French-speaking learners.

5. English periphrastic causative constructions appear to be problematic for other groups of learners too, cf. Wong (1983) and Liu & Shaw (2001) for Chinese learners, or Helms-Park (2001) for speakers of Hindi-Urdu and Vietnamese.

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Tables

LANGUAGE		NUMBER OF WORDS		
		<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Non-fiction</i>	<i>Total</i>
English	<i>Original texts</i>	83,524	103,395	186,919
	<i>Translations</i>	86,277	109,345	195,622
	<i>Total</i>	169,801	212,740	382,541
French	<i>Original texts</i>	82,023	110,622	192,645
	<i>Translations</i>	86,049	114,131	200,180
	<i>Total</i>	168,072	224,753	392,825
TOTAL		337,873	437,493	775,366

Table 1. Composition of the PLECI sample

	Original texts	Translations	TOTAL	
	n	n	n	/100,000
Causative <i>make</i>	42	67	109	28.49
Causative <i>faire</i>	185	170	355	90.37

Table 2. Frequency of causative *make* and *faire* in the PLECI sample

Equivalents of causative <i>faire</i>	n (%)
Synthetic causative verb	179 (50.4%)
Miscellaneous	61 (17.2%)
Verbal causative construction with verb other than <i>make</i>	38 (10.7%)
Verbal causative construction with <i>make</i>	35 (9.9%)
Nominalisation	34 (9.6%)
Adjectival/nominal causative construction	8 (2.3%)
TOTAL	355 (100%)

Table 3. Equivalents of causative *faire* in the PLECI sample

Equivalents of causative <i>make</i>	n (%)
Verbal causative construction with <i>faire</i>	35 (32.1%)
Miscellaneous	32 (29.4%)
Synthetic causative verb	17 (15.6%)
Nominalisation	11 (10.1%)
Verbal causative construction with verb other than <i>faire</i>	10 (9.2%)
Adjectival/nominal causative construction	4 (3.7%)
TOTAL	109 (100%)

Table 4. Equivalents of causative *make* in the PLECI sample

Figures

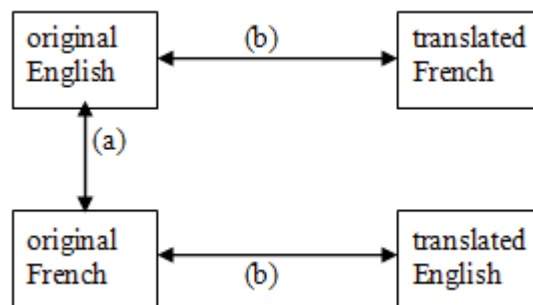


Figure 1. PLECI as a comparable and parallel corpus

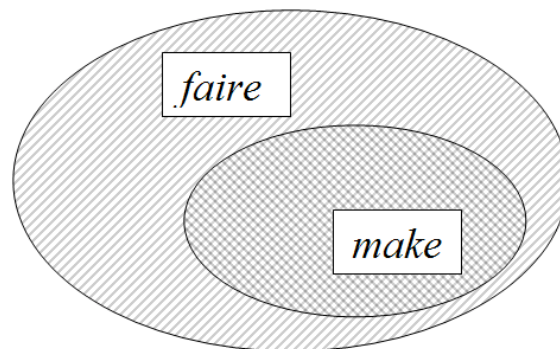


Figure 2. Inclusion of *make* in the field of *faire*

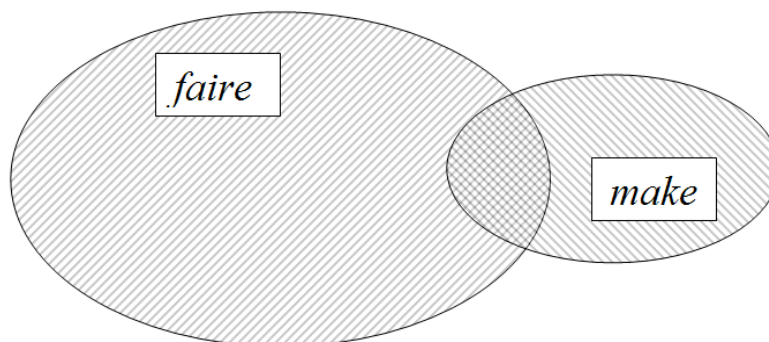


Figure 3. Partial overlap between *faire* and *make*