Tipologiia kauzativnykh konstruktsii

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The Typology of Causative Constructions

Translated from Russian by Richard H. Wojcik

0. Translator's Note
    "Tipologiia kauzativnykh konstruktsii" serves as the first
article in a collection of articles under the title Tipologiia
kauzativnykh konstruktsii. Morfologicheskii kauzativ. ANSSSR,
Institut IAzykoznaniia, Leningrad, 1969. The analysis of causation
in this article is the basis for all the articles in the collection.
Therefore, those who want to read the book may find this translation
a useful place to start. I also hope that it will provide useful
insights for linguists who are studying causation in general.
    In translating example sentences from Russian, I have chosen to
give the Russian in Library of Congress transliteration, followed by
a more or less literal translation. Occasionally, I have given the
Russian word, as well as my English translation of it, for technical
terms which seem most crucial in the text.
    I am particularly grateful to Arnold Zwicky, who found time to
criticize the initial version of this translation.

1. The basic object of study in this section is the class of
Causative Constructions (CC).[1] The size of the class CC is determined
not by inner markers, but by outer markers, i.e. not by the formal-
grammatical characteristics of its own elements,[2] but by their
relationship with a specific class of units at the referential or
ontological level--with the class of Causative Situations (CS). Any
construction that expresses a CS will be considered "causative".
    The study procedes from the referential level to the grammatical.
Therefore, the concept of CS is initial.
    In the majority of cases, CC are related to corresponding non-
causative constructions (cf. iâ zastavil ego uĭti 'I caused him to
leave'--on ushël 'He left'; iâ ispugal ego 'I frightened him'--on
ispugalsiâ 'He became frightened'. The latter are determined by
more or less complicated semantic, syntactic, and morphological
transformations (see, in part, 7 and 14). Constructions of this type
will be called "noncausative correlates" of corresponding CC.

2. Reality can be conceived as a great number of events or situations.
There are simple situations, which one may call "microsituations".

This type of situation is expressed, for example, in the sentences
Svetit solntse 'The sun shines' and Kukuet kukushka 'The cuckoo
cuckooes'. Microsituations contain two terms [konstanty]: the
topic [predmet] (which we shall signify by r) and its state
[sostoianie] (s).[3] Thus, in the above examples, the topic is
expressed by solntse 'sun' and kukushka 'cuckoo', and the state by
svetit 'shines' and kukuet 'sings'.

The term "state" does not retain here the meaning attributed to
it in linguistics, for example, in the delineation of some subclasses
of words (cf. verbs of state as opposed to verbs of action). Roughly
speaking, a state is everything that can be expressed in language by
some predicate form (on bezhit 'He runs', emu stydno 'he is shamed',
on student 'he is a student', ona upala 'she fell', etc.).[4]

Besides simple situations, there are complex situations. These
may be called "macrosituations". The following serve as examples of
sentences that express macrosituations: On vidit, kak ona p'ët vodu
'He sees how she drinks water'; On znaet, shto ona prishla 'He knows
that she came'; Kogda on vernulsia, my seli za uzhin 'When he
returned, we sat down to supper'; My vernulis', tak kak isportilas'
pogoda 'We returned, since the weather had worsened'. Macro-
situations of the type expressed in the last example will be called
causatives. CS are also expressed by the following examples:
Tvoia bestaktnost' vynudila ego uiti 'Your tactlessness compelled
him to leave'; My vernulis' iz-za dozhdia 'We returned because of
the rain'; ego rasskaz vzvolnoval vsekh 'His story upset everyone',
etc.

A spontaneously constructed CS comprises at least two micro-
situations, which are connected to each other by the relation of
causation (k). In this work, we will consider causation to be
synonymous with the cause-effect relationship.

A causing microsituation is called the "antecedent", and a
caused microsituation is called the "consequent". Thus, in the first
example of a CS given above, the sentence Isportilas' pogoda 'The
weather had worsened' expresses the antecedent, and My vernulis'
'We returned' expresses the consequent.

The causal relation k is a term of the CS. This term is a
determining factor in the causative macrosituation, since it
organizes the macrosituation. Besides this organizing term, the
CS has four other terms: the agent [agens], or the topic of the
antecedent (r_i); the causing state (s_i), the patient [patiens], or
the topic of the consequent (r_j), and the caused state (s_j).

Your mistake caused him to leave.

$$\underbrace{\underbrace{r_i \quad s_i}, \quad k \quad \underbrace{r_j \quad s_j}}$$

antecedent   consequent

macrosituation (CS)
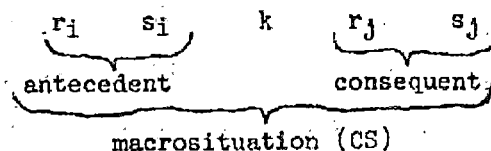
The causative situation is described by the following string
of symbols:

$$CS = [r_i s_i] \, k \, [r_j s_j]$$

If not all the terms of the CS have an expression in a CC,
the CC will be called "semantically elliptical". By this, we do
not mean the lack of a corresponding term in the CS. We are
concerned with ellipsis at the semantic level, i.e. at the level
where the speaker makes up the concept of the CS. Therefore, a
semantically elliptical CC can be nonelliptic grammatically.

Regarding the two terms of state (s_i, s_j), the latter plays a
much greater substantive role than the first. The caused state is
the final goal of the CC, its final state "at output", and it
usually represents the greatest interest for the speaker and the
listener. However, the causing state (which one could also call
"the means of the agent's action" or "the means of causation")
represents an intermediate factor in the cause-effect chain described
by the CC, and, therefore, it seldom finds a place in the first
formulation. This term often does not have an expression in the
CC; cf. ego (r_i) khod (s_i) zastavil (k) protivnika (r_j) sdat'sia (s_j)
'His move forced the opponent to concede' and On (r_i) zastavil (k)
protivnika (r_j) sdat'sia (s_j) 'He forced the opponent to concede'.
The second CC, where the s_i term has no expression, is semantically
(but not grammatically) elliptical. In both examples, the verb
zastavit' 'to force' fully realizes its necessary syntactic valence.
Consider, also, the following syntactically complete CC: Druzhnymi
zabastovkami (s_i) rabochie (r_i) zastavili (k) khoziaev kontserna (r_j)
otstupit' (s_j) 'With friendly demonstrations, the workers forced the
owners of the business to give in'. Of all the terms, the s_i term
has the least short expression. The means of causation may include
a great number of different components which are difficult to account
for and which are determined by near or distant, preceding or
following, contexts. Thus, for example, a full explanation of the
means of causation in a CC of the type Oni zastavili eë uekhat' 'They
caused her to leave' may require the perusal of several pages of
text. Moreover, such an explanation may not even be present. In
this work, we do not propose to give an exhaustive list of all the
factors that make up the means of causation in all concrete cases:
in each individual s_i only the factor of greatest importance is
considered. Thus, in the CC On ugovoril menia uïti 'He persuaded me
to go', the speech of the agent (he said that...) is understood
under s_i. Additional semantic nuances (logical argument, length of
influence on the object, etc.) are not considered.[5]

3. Since the organizing term of the CS is k, the CC is distinguished
first of all in its ability to express causation.

In the suprasegmental expression of causation, k is not expressed
in any discrete element of the CC, but in the whole grammatical
structure related to the specific CS: My vernulis'; poshël dozhd'
'We returned--it was raining'; Istrativ poslednie dengi, on sidel na
khlebe i vode 'Having lost his remaining funds, he sat down to bread
and water'. The causativity of this type of construction is optional

(This is the periphery of a CC), since it is determined by its actual lexical composition. Thus, for example, not every participial phrase has a causative meaning: Prisëv na kortochki, on razduval kostër 'Having squatted down, he stirred up the fire'.

In non-suprasegmental expressions, the causation of the term k finds expression in a specific, discrete element of the CC, which it would be appropriate to call the "causative link"[6] (so long as the causal relation designated by the link inter-connects two microsituations on the referential level). CC of this type will be called "linking" [sviazochnye] as opposed to "nonlinking" CC of the above type.

4. We distinguish subordinate [sluzhebnye] and autonomous [znamenatel'nye] links as a mark of the relatedness between causative links and subordinate or autonomous parts of speech. Some may be consequential [sledstvennymi] and some may be causal [prichinnymi].

Dependent causative links break down into 1) conjunctions (consequential: Poshël dozhd', poetomu my vernulis' 'It rained, therefore we returned'; causal: My vernulis', tak kak poshël dozhd' 'We returned since it was raining') and 2) prepositions (also postpositions): My vernulis' iz-za dozhdia 'We returned because of the rain.'

Autonomous links are categorized into 1) nouns (causal: Tvoia bestaktnost'--prichina ego ukhoda 'Your lack of tact is the reason for his departure'; Ty vinovat v ego ukhode 'You are the guilty one in his departure'; Ego ukhod--sledstvie tvoei grubosti 'His departure is the result of your impoliteness') and 2) verbs: Ia zastavil ego uiti 'I caused him to go'; Ego oshibka privela k nashemu porazheniiu 'His mistake led to our downfall.'

5. From a semantic point of view, causative links are categorized initially as to whether they express the term s_j (caused state) along with causation.

Causative links expressing s_j will be called "resultative". Links expressing s_i will be called "instrumental".

Resultative links are classified as 1) three-term, which express k, s_j and s_i (instrumental resultatives: podozvat' 'beckon over', zastrelit' 'to shoot') and 2) two-term, which express k and s_j, but not s_i (noninstrumental resultatives: ubit' 'to kill', ispugat' 'to frighten').

Resultative links are most often verbs. However, in some cases, they may be nouns. For example, in Chukcha: $\eta i\eta kej_1$ $kim\partial w_2$-kew_3-u it-∂-$rk\partial n_4$ 'The boy$_1$ is the cause$_3$ of the absence$_2$ (of somebody who is clarified in the context)' (-u is the marker of the purposive [naznachitel'nogo] case of the noun). Consider also in German: Er empfand Liebeskummer 'He felt suffering from love'--Seine Liebe brachte ihm viel Kummer 'His love caused him much suffering'; Er war zornrot 'He was red with anger'--Er war rot von Zorn. In the Chukcha example, the nominal kiməw-kew represents a two-term noninstrumental nominal link; in the German examples, the nominal Liebeskummer represents a three-term instrumental noun link, as does the adjective zornrot.

Causative links not expressing s_j will be called "non-resultative". They are classified as 1) two-term instrumentals (verbs: velet' 'to order', prosit' 'to request', razreshit' 'to allow'; nouns: prikaz 'order', pros'ba 'request', razreshenie 'permission') and 2) one-term noninstrumentals (all the dependent links--conjunctions and prepositions--belong here, and also the overwhelming majority of nominal links (for individual exceptions, see above) and a group of verbal links--verbs of the type zastavit' 'to cause', vynudit' 'to lead', etc.).[7]

We call attention here to those causative verbs which are usually considered dependent, i.e. verbs of the type Gm. lassen, Fr. laisser, Eng. to make, etc.[8]

6. Out of all the morphological causative links--conjunctions, prepositions, nouns, verbs--the last item is of special interest, since the verbal link is not only semantically, but also grammatically, the core of the sentence. In consequence of this, the verbal link is the basic object of study in this work. All verbs that can fill the role of links in the CC (i.e. that express causation by themselves or in combination with other terms) comprise the class of causative verbs (CV).

The semantic classification of CV can be represented by the following chart:

	Nonresultative	Resultative
Noninstrumental	One-term ("k") zastavit' 'to cause'	Two-term ("ks$_j$") ispugat' 'to frighten'
Instrumental	Two-term ("s$_i$k") prikazat' 'to order'	Three-term ("s$_i$ks$_j$") podozvat' 'to beckon over'

Nonresultative CV (instrumental and noninstrumental) give rise to a whole semantic group that is in clear opposition to resultative CV. The semantic nearness of instrumental and noninstrumental CV (prikazat' 'to order'--zastavit' 'to cause') is aggravated by what we mentioned above--the term that expresses the instrument, but not the result, is the least specific of all terms. Therefore, it is not always possible to distinguish clearly instrumental from non-instrumental CV (nonresultative as well as resultative).

One should add that one and the same verb in its various meanings can refer to different semantic subclasses; cf. ia vyzval ego [na ulitsu] 'I called him out [onto the street]' (instrumental resultative CV pozvat', poprosiv vyîti 'to call, having requested to come out')--ego prikhod vyzval vseobshchee udivlenie 'His arrival evoked universal surprise' (noninstrumental nonresultative CV vozbudit' 'to arouse').

7. Two-term and three-term CV have complex lexical meanings which contain one or two additional terms as well as the basic term k. The additional terms may have an independent lexical realization in the same language as a rule. Any lexical unit (a word or combination of words) which expresses one of these additional terms in a "pure" sense, i.e. without the meaning of causation accompanying it, will be called a "non-causative correlate" of the corresponding CV--a CV that expresses the additional term in combination with the term k.

Since a CV in a structure of complex meaning is able to introduce two additional terms (s_i and s_j), which can also appear jointly, it is necessary to distinguish three types of noncausative correlates for the CV: 1) Resultative CV correspond to the resultative noncausative correlates: ispugat' 'to frighten' (ks_j)--ispugat'sia 'to be frightened' (s_j); 2) instrumental CV correspond to instrumental noncausative correlates: velet' 'to order' (ks_i)--skazat' 'to speak', napisat' 'to write', etc. (s_i)[9]; 3) three-term CV have noncausative correlates of both types simultaneously: podozvat' 'to call over' (ks_is_j)---skazat' 'to speak', kriknut' 'to shout', etc. (s_j).[10]

Two-term and three-term resultative CV differ in their relationships with the noncausative correlates.

Two-term CV (not expressing s_i) usually enter into a more direct one-to-one relationship with their noncausative correlates (e.g. ubit' 'to kill'--umeret' 'to die'). Three-term CV (expressing s_i) more often do not enter into a direct one-to-one relationship with their noncausative correlates. This is explained by the fact that one and the same s_j can usually be the result of different s_i, and, conversely, the same s_i can have various s_j as its result. Thus, the noncausative correlate umeret' 'to die', which has been extracted above, relates to a whole group of three-term CV (povesit' 'to hang', kaznit' 'to execute', zastrelit' 'to shoot', rasstreliat' 'to machine-gun', zadushit' 'to smother', zadavit' 'to run over', zarezat' 'to stab (to death)', zarubit' 'to slash (to death)', etc.). On the other hand, one and the same three-term CV vyteret' 'to wipe dry, clean' is related to two noncausative correlates (byt' sukhim 'to be dry', byt' chistym 'to be clean'), each of which has its own respective two-term CV (cf. byt' sukhim 'to be dry'--vysushit' 'to dry', byt' chistym 'to be clean'--vychistit' 'to clean').

8. Each word of the CC that expresses a term is a junction [uzlom]. Thus, the causative link is a junction. The link may express more than one term.

Non-linking junctions make up the environment of the link. This environment consists of two parts or segments which correspond to the two microsituations of a given CS in the referential schema.

If both terms of the microsituation find expression in a segment, then the segment is complete [polnyi] and consists of two junctions. In the following CC, both segments are complete: ego prikhod/zastavil/menia uiti 'His arrival caused me to leave'.

If only one of the terms of a microsituation finds expression in a segment, the segment is called "incomplete". Two cases are possible: 1) The second term of a microsituation, which has no

expression in the segment, may enter into composition with the lexical meaning of the link: such segments are called "implicational" since their unexpressed terms are implied by the link. In the CC ia/podozval/ego 'I called him over', both segments are implicational. Correspondingly, the link is three-term.

2) Sometimes the second term of a microsituation which is left unexpressed in the segment does not enter into construction with the lexical meaning of the link, nor does it have any expression in the CC at all. Such segments are called "nonimplicational". In the CC ia/ispugal/ego 'I frightened him', the first segment is nonimplicational, and the second is implicational. In the CC ia/prikazal/emu uiti 'I ordered him to leave', the first segment is implicational, and the second is complete.

Nonimplicational segments, of course, are indicative of semantic ellipsis.

9. Segments, as well as the verbal link, can be expanded [rasprostranennymi]. The expanded segment or link is understood to be an aggregate of non-junction elements in the CC (i.e. words that do not express terms) which have a direct syntactic relation with the junction elements of the segments or the verbal link. Thus, in the CC vysokii iunosha/vezhlivo priglasil/eë na tanets 'The tall youth gaily invited her to dance', the adjective vysokii and the adverb vezhlivo comprise, respectively, the expansion of the first segment and the verbal link.

Complete, as well as incomplete segments, may be expanded. It is a little difficult to tell the difference between expanded incomplete segments and nonexpanded complete segments whose junctions are connected by an attributive relationship. The referential connection of a particular word serves as the criterion for differentiating the two types of segments. A particular word may express the topic of the microsituation (vysokii iunosha/priglasil/eë na tanets 'The tall boy invited her to dance'--the first segment is complete and expanded). On the other hand, a particular word may express the state (ego prikhod/razveselil/vsekh 'His arrival cheered everyone'--the first segment is complete and nonexpanded).

The incomplete segment represented by a demonstrative pronoun may be expanded by a whole subordinate clause: to, shto on ne vernulsia/zastavilo/vsekh zavolnovat'sia 'That [fact], that he didn't return, caused everybody to get upset'; vse rasstroilis'/iz-za/togo, shto progulka ne sostoialas' 'Everyone broke up because of that [fact], that the trip did not take place.'

10. Segments (complete and incomplete) break down into two kinds according to their referential connections.

The segment which expresses (fully or partially) the antecedent of the CS will be called the "antecedent segment". That which expresses the consequent will be called the "consequent segment".

For example, in the CC ego poiavlenie/vyzvalo/obshchii smekh 'His appearance evoked general laughter', the first segment is the complete segment of the antecedent, and the second is the complete

segment of the consequent. In the CC my vernulis'/iz-za/dozhdîa 'We returned because of the rain', the first segment is the complete consequent segment, and the second is the incomplete antecedent segment, etc.

11. According to their syntactic position in the CC, segments are divided into primary (sg. 1) and secondary (sg. 2) segments. The concept of primary and secondary segments is not at all determined by the linear order of the elements in the CC.

The syntactic position of segments is determined relative to that of the grammatical subject. Three basic types are possible:

If only one segment contains the junction which functions as grammatical subject, that segment is primary and the others are secondary:

> tvoi prikhod / zastavil / ego uĭti
> your arrival   caused   him to go
>
>   sg. 1   causative   sg. 2
>   link

If two (or more) segments contain junctions which function as grammatical subject (i.e. if we consider complex sentences), the segment that corresponds to the head of the sentence is primary:

> my vernulis' / tak kak / nachalsîa dozhd'
> we returned   since   it began   rain
>
>   sg. 1   causative   sg. 2
>   link

> nachalsîa dozhd' / poètomu / my vernulis'
>   therefore
>
>   sg. 1   causative   sg. 2
>   link

If no segment contains a junction that fulfills the subject role, then the primary segment is the one that is located away from the subject in the least number of syntactic steps. "Syntactic step" refers to the distance between two directly related units. Two cases are possible:

1) The CC is syntactically complete, i.e. represents a whole sentence. The causative link plays the role of subject here:

> prichina nashego ot"ezda   zakliuchilas' v bolezni
>   cause   of our departure   consisted   in sickness
>
>   brata
>   of brother

'The cause of our departure was the sickness of our brother.'

A clear positional difference in the segments is visible in this example: the segment nashego ot"ezda is one syntactic step from the subject and it is primary; the segment bolezni brata is two steps from the subject and it is secondary. The link prichina zakliuchilas' v is a nominal expansion.

2) If the CC is syntactically incomplete and represents only part of the sentence, the differentiation of segments by position is very indeterminate, regardless of whether the causative link is the subject or not. For example:

a) prikaz komandira ob otstuplenii voĭsk
order of commander about deployment of troops

byl ochen'svoevremennym
was very   timely

'The commander's order for troop deployment was very timely.'

b) on peredal prikaz komandira ob otstuplenii voĭsk
he passed on...

'He passed on the commander's order for troop deployment.'

In both examples, the CC (prikaz komandira ob otstuplenii voĭsk) is syntactically incomplete. In both cases, the two segments (komandira, otstuplenii voĭsk) are the same syntactic distance from the grammatical subject: one step in (a), and three steps in (b).

Thus, the differentiation between primary and secondary segments in a CC, i.e. the specification of the positional syntactic structure of the CC, turns out to be impossible. Therefore, only syntactically complete CC will be examined in this work.

12. Primary and secondary segments are obligatory: in a syntactically complete CC, they constitute the necessary environment for the causative link.

Along with these two necessary types of segments, the CC can also contain a third, optional type of segment. This segment is not necessary to the environment of the causative link, and it may be left out. In such a case, grammatical ellipsis has not occurred: (svoim krikom) on ispugal menia '(By his cry), he frightened me'; (Dokazav svoiu pravotu), on zastavil eë izvinit'sia '(Having proved that he was right), he caused her to excuse herself'.

The optional segment often expresses the s_1 term not expressed in the incomplete segment sg. 1 (see examples above).

Optional segments (to a much greater degree than obligatory ones) may undergo a shift in position, although such a shift in no way influences the syntactic function of the two obligatory segments and should not be taken as an inversion. Cf.: On ispugal menia svoim krikom 'He frightened me with his cry'; On zastavil eë izvinit'sia, dokazav svoiu pravotu 'He caused her to excuse herself, having shown that he was right'.

13. Let us now examine the relationship between positional types of segments and their semantic types.

When sg. 1 is the antecedent, the causative link is always consequential [sledstvennoĭ]. CC of this type will be called "non-inversive" [neinversivnymi]: My zastavili ikh vernut'sia 'We caused them to return'.

When sg. 1 is the consequent, the link is always causal [prichinnoĭ]. CC of this type will be called "inversive": Oni vernulis' iz-za dozhdia 'They returned because of the rain'.

14. Now we will examine complete segment types that are determined by the kind of syntactic relation between their junctions. From this point of view, segments break down into the following types.

First of all, we make a distinction between segments that have mediated [oposredstvennymi] syntactic relations and those that have nonmediated syntactic relationships between their junctions.

We call a syntactic relationship nonmediated if it arises between two junctions without the use of a third junction. This type of relationship has two subclasses: subjectival (s)[11]--brat priekhal 'The brother arrived'--and attributive (a)--priezd brata 'the arrival of the brother, the brother's arrival'.

> Note. Any segment with an attributive relationship can be replaced by an incomplete segment (x) within the boundaries of that CC (cf. Ego krik ispugal menia 'His cry frightened me'--On ispugal menia 'He frightened me'; My vernulis' iz-za bolezni brata 'We returned because of our brother's illness'--My vernulis' iz-za brata 'We returned because of our brother'). But not every incomplete segment can be replaced by an attributive one (On dobilsia moego solglasiia 'He obtained my agreement'; the incomplete sg. 1 cannot be replaced by an attributive segment). The symbol x in the following classifications will denote only those incomplete segments that cannot be replaced by an attributive segment; incomplete segments which are amenable to such a replacement will be considered functional variants of corresponding attributive segments. Thus, for example, sg. 1 in the CC Ego krik ispugal menia 'His cry frightened me' and On ispugal menia 'He frightened me' are functionally the same.
>
> A demonstrative pronoun expanded by a subordinate clause often plays the role of an incomplete segment. To, shto my opozdali, rasserdilo ego 'That [fact], that we were late, angered him'; On rasserdilsia iz-za togo, shto my opozdali 'He got angry from that [fact], that we were late'; Ego bolezn' byla prichinoĭ togo, shto my vernulis' 'His illness was the cause of that [fact], that we returned'. An incomplete segment of this type can always be replaced within the confines of some construction by a full attributive segment. Cf. Nashe opozdanie rasserdilo ego 'Our lateness angered him'; Ego bolezn' byla prichinoĭ nashego vozvrashcheniia 'His illness was the case of our return', etc.

Mediated syntactic relationships are those that arise between two junctions by means of a third junction. Thus, in the CC Ia zastavil ego uekhat' 'I caused him to go', the relationship between the junctions ego 'him' and uekhat' 'to go' is mediated, since it is possible only because of a third junction--the link zastavil:

$$\text{zastavil}$$
$$\swarrow \qquad \searrow$$
$$\text{ego} \leftarrow - - \rightarrow \text{uekhat'}$$
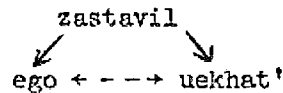
We will call the nonmediated relation nexus [neksusnyĭ] and it will be symbolized by n.

Nexus segments can be further subclassified into a) nexus verbal: sg. 2 in the CC On zastavil meniá uĭti 'He caused me to go' and b) nexus nominal: sg. 2 in the CC Ego oshibka privela komandu k porazheniiu 'His mistake brought the team to defeat'; On dovël eë do slëz 'He brought her to tears', etc.

Both non-subjectival relationships can be turned into subjectival ones by one means or another. a → s: ego plach 'his crying' → on plachet 'He cries'; n → s: ego uĭti 'him to go' → on ushël 'He went'; komandu k porazheniiu 'the team to defeat' → Komanda poterpela porazhenie 'the team suffered defeat'; eë do slëz 'her to tears' → ona v slëzakh 'She is in tears', etc.

The subjectival operation on the resultative segment of a CC gives the noncausative correlate of the CC (see 1).

15. After the basic types of causative links and segments have been uncovered, there still remains the task of determining the basic types of relations between them, i.e. the types of CC themselves. The system of categories studied above was developed with Russian material as a basis. Its application to other languages may demand further study and specification.

The ability of each type of link to enter into construction with specific types of sg. 1 and sg. 2 is strictly limited. In the whole Russian language, there are 15 basic structural types of CC (T_1-T_{15} below).

Types of CC	sg. 1	Causative link	sg. 2	Types of CC	Causative link	sg. 2
T_1	s	Preposition	a	T_9	$s_i k$	s
T_2	s	Conjunction	s	T_{10}	$s_i k$	a
T_3	x	Participle	a	T_{11}	$s_i k$	n
T_4	a	Noun	a	T_{12}	k	a
T_5	x	Noun	a	T_{13}	k	n
T_6	x	$s_i k s_j$[12]	x	T_{14}	k	a
T_7	x	$s_i k s_j$	n	T_{15}	k	n
T_8	a	$k s_j$	x			

We will illustrate each of these types. T_1: My vernulis' iz-za bolezni brata 'We returned because of our brother's illness'; Ia

znaiu éto blagodariâ ego soobshcheniiu 'I know this, thanks to his communication'. T_2: Nachalsiâ dozhd', poétomu my vernulis' 'It began to rain, therefore we returned'; My vernulis' tak kak nachalsiâ dozhd' 'We returned, since it had begun to rain'; Poshël takoĭ dozhd', shto my vernulis' 'There was such a rain that we returned'; Poshël dozhd', i my vernulis' 'It rained, and we returned'. T_3: Ty vinovat v eë smerti 'You are guilty in her death'. T_4: Tvoiâ oshibka--prichina nashego porazheniiâ 'Your mistake is the reason for our defeat'. T_5: Ty vinovnik eë smerti 'You are the guilty one in her death'. T_6: On podozval meniâ 'He called me over'. T_7: Oni izbrali ego sekretarem 'They chose him secretary'; Oni nazvali syna ivanom 'They named their son Ivan'. T_8: Ego rasskaz rassmeshil meniâ 'His story made me laugh'. T_9: On prikazal (eĭ), shtoby ona ushla 'He ordered (her) that she leave'. T_{10}: On razreshil nash ot"ezd 'He allowed our departure'. T_{11}: Ia razreshil emu uĭti 'I allowed him to go'; Ia poprosil ego o pomoshchi 'I asked him for help'. T_{12}: Ego poiavlenie vyzvalo vseobshchiĭ perepolokh 'His ghost evoked universal fright'. T_{13}: Ego poiavlenie vynudilo nas udalit'siâ 'His ghost forced us to move away'; Ego slova tolknuli eë na prestuplenie 'His words pushed her to crime'. T_{15}: On ostavil meniâ v pokoe 'He left me in peace'.

It is natural that some CV can serve to develop CC of different types (cf. examples T_{10} and T_{11}).

16. This work presents the first (and, in many respects, incomplete) study of a universal classificatory schema which would allow one to become oriented to the extraordinary panoply of CC in different languages.[13] Moreover, some of the established oppositions may become neutralized in some languages. For example, the opposition in sg. 2 between types s, a, and n neutralizes in Chinese. Only one Chinese type, ta lai, corresponds to the three types of sg. 2 in the following Russian examples: [Otets velel 'the father ordered] em priĭti 'him to come'; [Otets velel, shtoby 'the father ordered that'] on prishël 'he came'; [Otets razreshil 'the father allowed'] ego priezd 'his arrival'.

On the other hand, an introduction to additional criteria that do not contradict the above, but give it more concreteness, may be required in order to include all the true varieties of CC in different languages.

Using Russian, we shall examine a few cases in point.

Let us take, for example, T_1. According to the type of preposition which functions as the link in a given type of CC, the CC can be subclassified as follows:

1) CC with prepositions that always take a causative (and only a causative) meaning. Blagodariâ iskusstvu khudozhnikova potolok kazalsiâ beskonechno vysokim 'Thanks to the skill of the artist, the ceiling seemed infinitely high'; Ostal'nye agregaty vvidu iznosa uzhe neskol'ko raz menialis' 'The remaining units, in view of their wear, had already been changed several times'; Vsledstvie tumana parokhod ne vyshel v more 'On account of the fog, the ship did not go out to sea'; Po prichine neudachnoĭ okhoty, nashi koni ne byli tak izmucheny 'Owing to the unsuccessful hunt, our horses were not so exhausted'.

2) CC with prepositions that can take causative as well as noncausative meanings (cf.: On vernulsia iz-za dozhdia 'He returned because of the rain' and On vyglianul iz-za dereva 'He looked out from behind a tree'). These meanings are determined by specific, systematic factors (whose explanation is not a part of the present study): Otets Natashi goriachitsia iz-za docheri 'Natasha's father is angry because of his daughter'; Ona vyshla zamuzh iz pokornosti k materi 'She got married out of obediance to her mother'; Iz razgovorov so starikom ia uznal uzhasnuiu novost' 'From conversations with an old man, I came to know terrible news'; Za otsutstviem doktora bol'nykh prinimal fel'dsher 'For lack of a doctor, the doctor's assistant saw to the sick'; Ia likvidiroval svoi knigi za nenadobnostiu 'I destroyed my books for lack of wanting them'; On pokrasnel ot stydy 'He reddened from shame'; Ot etikh knig v dushe u menia slozhilos' stoikaia vera v cheloveka 'From these books, I formed in my soul an abiding faith in man'; Oni possorilis' po nedorazumeniiu 'They quarreled over a misunderstanding'; Pod deistviem parov natriia on nachal zadykhat'sia 'Under the action of the sodium vapor, he began to choke'; On zabolel s goria 'He was sick from grief'; S neprivychki nogi boliat 'His legs ache from disuse'; Mnogo slëz ia cherez etu babu prolil 'Many tears I shed over this old lady'; Ona menia za muki poliubila 'She loved me for my ugly face'.

3) CC with prepositions which don't usually have causative meaning but function as a causative link with a specific lexical filler in other places of the construction. In their normal usage, these prepositions most often denote static or dynamic space and time relationships: V etom kostiume plechi ego kazalis' shire 'In this suit, his shoulders looked wider'; Na fotografii on vygliadel elegantnee 'In the photograph, he looked more elegant'; Pod ego tiazhëlymi sapogami skripel pol[14] 'Under his heavy shoes, the floor creaked'; Pod solntsem mets zasverkal 'Under the sun, the sword sparkled'; On sovershil etot postupok pri ikh blagosklonnom molchanii 'He completed this crime in their approving silence'; Pri svete luny eë glaza kazalis' sinimi 'In the light of the moon, her eyes seemed blue'; Pri vzgliade na neë on vzdrognul 'At the sight of her, he trembled'; On soznalsia pod naporom ulik 'He confessed under the pressure of evidence'. The following types of CC represent special cases: On u menia zarabotaet 'He will begin to work at my place'; U neë sbezhalo moloko 'At her place, the milk would boil over'; On postrigsia [u khoroshego parikmakhera] 'He got his hair cut [at a good barbershep]'; Ia sshil kostium [u khoroshego portnogo]' .[15] I got a suit made [at a good tailor]'.[15] In all these CC, the preposition u 'at' contains a junction that expresses animate agency.

Note. CC of this type are often implicational, i.e. those in which some of the terms do not have a direct expression, but are implied by expressed terms: On postrigsia 'He got a haircut', On sshil sebe kostium 'He got a suit made', etc. In these examples, the term r_j is implied. (cf.: On poprosil parikmakhera postrich' ego po poslednei mode 'He asked the barber to cut his hair in the latest style'). As we said above

(see 1), implicational CC are not a topic of study in this work; they will be examined in an independent study.

In T_{11} there are two clear subtypes: with the verbal sg. 2 (on prikazal / ei uĭti 'he ordered her to leave') and with the nominal sg. 2. Moreover, nouns in the nominal sg. 2 can take different cases. For example: Ia poruchil emu eto delo 'I assigned him this matter [Accusative]'; Ia razreshil emu osmotr pomoshcheniĭa 'I allowed him an inspection [Accusative] of the premises'; Ia obratilsĭa k nemu za sovetom 'I turned to him for advice [for + Instrumental]'; On prizyval rabochikh k bor'be 'He called the workers to the struggle [to + Dative]'; Ia poprosil ego o pomoshchi 'I asked him for help [about + Prepositional]'; Ia potreboval u nego ob"iasneniĭ 'I demanded explanations [Genitive] from him', etc.

T_{12} also differs in its nominal sg. 2 in a variety of ways, especially in the morphological formation of the second nominal junction. For example, Ia pomog emu v rabote 'I helped him in his work [in + Prepositional]'; Opyt nauchil ego ostorozhnosti 'The experiment taught him carefulness [Dative]'; Eë mol'by uderzhivaĭut ego ot zapoĭa 'Her supplications keep him away from drink [from + Genitive]'; Ego primer spas eë ot unyniĭa 'His example saved her from dejection [from + Genitive]'; Zhizn' v gorode priuchila ego k odinochestvu 'Life in the city accustomed him to loneliness [to + Dative]'; Ego sovety predokhranili eë ot oshibok 'His advice protected her from mistakes [from + Genitive]'; On tolknul menĭa na ėtot postupok 'He pushed me to this crime [to + Accusative]'; Novye vpechatleniĭa otveli eë ot ėtoĭ mysli 'New feelings led her away from this thought [from + Genitive]'; Eë bolezn' vozlozhila na menĭa otvetstvennost' za deteĭ 'Her illness charged me with the responsibility [Accusative] for the children'; Ego vid navodit na menĭa tosku 'His look shoots weariness [Accusative] in my direction'; Ego slova pridali mne smelosti 'His words gave me courage [Genitive]'; Ego energiĭa privela nas k pobede 'His energy led us to victory [to + Dative]'; Gore dovela eë do samoubiĭstva 'Grief led her to suicide [to + Dative]'; Tvoĭ uprek ne daët emu pokoĭa 'Your reproach does not give him comfort [Genitive]'; Maleĭshiĭ pustĭak vyzyval u neë slëzy 'The smallest thing brought tears [Accusative] to her eyes'; Neznanie privelo ego k oshibke 'Ignorance led him to error [to + Dative]'; Vashi slova vyveli ego iz terpeniĭa 'Your words led him to lose patience [from + Genitive]'; Eto dovelo delo do skandala 'This brought the matter to a scandal [to + Genitive]'; Tolchok privël koleso v dvizhenie 'The jolt sent the wheel in motion [in + Accusative]'; etc. The above examples are enough to show the great productivity and variety of this type of CC in the Russian language.

Footnotes

1. In this part of the research, various cases of ellipsis and implication (see e.g. 15) will not be examined. These are considered structural variants of initial causative verbs, which comprise the basic subject of the present preliminary study.

2. The term konstruktsiia is understood here in the broadest sense as any combination of grammatical forms directly connected to each other (not necessarily representing a full sentence).

3. In regard to the symbols, the first letters were selected from the Latin words res 'topic' and status 'state'. The symbol k used below replaces c (from Latin causa 'cause') in order to avoid confusion with a letter of the Russian alphabet.

4. See also U. R. Eshbi, Vvedenie v kibernetiku, Moscow, 1959, p. 44.

5. A componential analysis of causative verbs will be the subject of a special study being prepared by the authors.

6. Cf. Bally "... faire avoir 'cause to have' or faire être à 'cause to belong to' have been condensed to simple verbs that may be called causative links [copules causatives, tr.]. Just as one would expect, their lexicalization takes the most varied forms; ...faire avoir becomes pourvoir 'to provide', munir 'to furnish', etc., ...faire être à 'to cause to belong to' can become donner 'give', adresser 'apply', envoyer 'send', etc." (Ch. Bally, Obshchaia lingvistika i voprosy frantsuzskogo iazyka, tr. from French, Moscow, 1955, p. 125). [See also Linguistique Générale et Linguistique Française, Editions Francke Berne, 1965, p. 110, for original passage—tr.]

7. In regard to one-term links (i.e. those not having the terms s_i and s_j),such as zastavit' 'to cause', vynudit' 'to lead to', vyzvat' 'to compel', dat' (e.g. dat' ubezhat' 'to allow to run away'), etc., we naturally do not wish to say that there are no other semantic markers in their conceptual makeup besides k. However, for the time being, we are not concerned with other conceptual signs.

8. We note, in passing, that some languages have verbal causative links that cannot be one-term; in other words, the term k can have only an affixal, not a root, expression. Thus, for example, Nivkh has no verbs with the meaning to cause (and also to order and to allow), and it expresses these meanings with a special causative suffix: for example, ro-d' 'to help'--ro-gu-d' 'to order, to allow to help'. For the translation of one-term verbs of the type 'to cause' in such languages, one may use some kind of regular causative verb (often derived), which is close in meaning to the word being

translated; for example, in Chukcha, the causative verb rə-teg.jen-ew-ək 'to cause' (lit. 'to cause (=rə ...-ew-) to want') is a derivative of the verb teg.jen-ək 'to want'.

9. In those cases where a CV expresses k only in specific constructions (in particular, with direct and prepositional objects), the instrumental noncausative correlate of the CV is the use of the CV outside this construction (i.e. without the direct or prepositional object); e.g. They (r_i) talked $(s_i k)$ him (r_j) into doing (s_j) something (i.e. in talking they caused him to do something) and They (r_i) talked (s_i).

10. In particular, many Chinese so-called resultative verbs have dual noncausative correlates of this type; e.g. 1) ts'a kan $(s_i ks_j)$ 'to wipe (dry)', i.e. in the course of wiping (s_i) to make (k) dry (s_j), and ts'a (s_i) 'to wipe', kan (s_j) 'dry'; 2) ts'a kanc'hing $(s_i ks_j)$ 'to wipe (clean)' and ts'a (s_i) 'to wipe', kanc'hing (s_j) 'clean' (see S. E. IAkhontov, Kategoriia glagola v kitaĭskom iazyke, Leningrad, 1957, pp. 83-91). Cf. also German verbs of the type totfahren $(s_i ks_j)$ 'to run over' (e.g. with a tram car)--fahren (s_i) 'to go', tot (s_j) 'dead'.

In decomposed [privedënnykh] verbs, the omission of the element denoting s_j has led simultaneously to the loss of the k term, i.e. to the liquidation of the CV. As is seen from the examples, the latter may not even take place. Cf., for example, in Dakota: 1) na-ksa $(s_i ks_j)$ 'to break something by striking with the foot' and ksa (ks_j) 'to strike'; 2) na-ćeya $(s_i ks_j)$ 'cause to yell by striking with the foot' and ćeya 'to yell' (s_j); the prefix na-denotes action connected with the foot. (see S. Riggs, Dakota Grammar. Texts and Ethnography, Washington, 1893, p. 20).

11. The symbols being used here and below (a, s, x, n) are introduced below in the table of structural types of CC.

12. For the four semantic types of CV represented by symbols here, see 6.

13. Moreover, this schema will help the reader to become oriented in the translation of several examples of CC based on morphologically derived CV (cited in the articles of this collective monograph) into Russian, which does not have a morphological causative (concerning morphological CV, see the next article ["Tipologiia morfologicheskogo i leksicheskogo kauzativov", tr.]).

14. Cf., for example, the corresponding German: Dieser Anzug liess seine Schultern breiter erscheinen; Das Photo liess ihn eleganter erscheinen; Seine schweren Stiefel liessen den Boden knarren, etc.

15. Cf., for example, the corresponding German: Ich bringe ihn schon zum Arbeiten; Sie liess die Milch überkochen; Er hat sich [bei einem guten Friseur] die Haare schneiden lassen; Ich habe mir [bei einem guten Schneider] einem Anzug machen lassen.