

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH. A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Causative constructions are illustrated in most standard English grammar books, but they have been given detailed treatment only in very recent literature (Lyons 1968, Lakoff 1970, Chafe 1970, Hutchins 1971, Fodor 1970, Anderson 1971, etc.). Polish causative verbs have been discussed by Grzegorzycowa (1967; 1969), but standard grammars have given them very little (Szober 1969 : 56) or no attention.

The term "causative", once restricted in reference to an old morphological category present in some transitive verbs, as for instance, English *lay* v. *lie*, *set* v. *sit*, Polish *poić* (=cause to drink) v. *pić* (=drink), *morzyć* (=cause to die) v. *mrzeć* (=die), etc., in recent literature is used with respect to a variety of surface representations covering the semantic area:

(a) someone makes (lets, causes) somebody (to) do something,

(b) someone makes (lets, causes) something/somebody (to) change or accept certain state,

also, less typically, with some inanimate non-agentive subjects expressing an "external causer"¹:

(c) something makes (lets, causes) somebody (to) do something,

(d) something makes (lets, causes) something/somebody (to) change or accept certain state.

1.2. In both English and Polish most of the old morphological patterns of causative verb formation by means of prefixation and suffixation are no

¹ In Fillmore (1968), for example, the subjects in

(a) *The key opened the door*

(b) *The wind opened the door*

are treated as surface representations of underlying instrumental cases. Whereas sentence (a) presupposes some unexpressed agentive participant, (b) does not. It seems that "the wind" can be treated as syntactically equivalent to other agentive, typically animate subjects of causative verbs. Similar examples are: *The frost has killed the flowers* or *The explosion rocks the trees*.

longer productive, as they are, for instance, in Turkish (cf. Lyons 1968: 8.2.4), or can be illustrated by some OE verbs (cf. Jespersen 1927: 16.5.1). The two languages employ a number of constructions conveying the idea of "causativity". For instance, causative analysis has been frequently suggested to account for the structural relations between transitive and intransitive constructions with "ergative"² verbs, as illustrated by the following pair of sentences:

- I. (a) *He opened the door*
 (b) *The door opened,*

where sentence (a) is interpreted as derived from (b) by means of a causative operation introducing an "agentive" subject and converting the intransitive form into a transitive one:

He CAUSED_s[The door opened]_s ⇒ He opened the door

The causative "link" can also be realized as a "causative auxiliary", such as *make, have, get, cause* (*sprawić, czynić, powodować*) in "overtly" causative constructions, e.g.,

- II. *That makes me feel better* (= *To sprawia, że się lepiej czuję*)

According to the assumptions made by some proponents of the "semantically based" model of transformational grammar (cf., for instance, Anderson 1971), the causative feature is also present in the underlying representations of some traditionally "intransitive" verbs (e.g. *John moved*), clauses with the object of result (e.g. *John painted a picture*) or in sentences with subordinate nominal clauses (e.g. *They elected him president*).

1.3. The aim of the present paper is to examine the causative constructions in English and Polish with the objective of establishing relevant correspondences and localizing possible places of contrast. The difficulties met at this point result from the lack of even a fairly adequate description of this area of Polish grammar. Consequently, the following considerations will partly constitute an attempt to fill up some of the gaps before a contrastive analysis is carried out.

It will be beyond the scope of the present study to attempt a comprehensive descriptions of the causative constructions in terms of the deep structure relations. In the following sections we will select for examination only a few areas which seem to provide material for the most essential contrasts.

1.4. In current English literature there have been two main approaches to the presentation of causative constructions. On the one hand, they have been analysed in terms of configurational relations (of deeper, more abstract subject and object elements), on the other hand, they have been expressed

² For a discussion of "ergative" constructions see, for instance, Lyons (1968: 350-371) or Golab (1958). The term "ergative" is used in a related, but somewhat different sense in a number of recent publications referred to in the present paper.

more directly in terms of "labelled" (or "case") relations. In the present paper most of the material will be handled, somewhat informally, by the configurational mechanism (along the lines proposed by Lakoff (1970: 5. 16), Lyons (1968: 8.3.6); Anderson (1971))³. Fundamental to the argument is the suggestion that lexicalization takes place after the operation of at least some transformational rules, lexical items being substituted for syntactically structured complexes of semantic features. The various surface representations of the causative constructions will be interpreted as derived from the structure where an intransitive clause is embedded as object of a matrix sentence, whose verb is an abstract causative.

2. CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH

2.1. Causative verbs.

2.1.1. Causative verbs constitute a large part of generally two-place, seldom three-place transitive verbs. The difference between causative verbs (exemplified by *kill* in the following examples) and "simple transitive" (e.g. *see*) is indicated by the question-answer frames:

- III. (a) *John killed the animal*
 (b) *John saw the animal*
 What did John do to the animal? — { *He killed it*
 { **He saw it.*

With verbs like *kill, spoil, move, lift, thicken, enrich, etc.*, some sort of "change of state" in the object, in its "physical or mental condition", or its "physical or abstract location" (Anderson 1971: 64), is a consequence of the action denoted by the verb, whereas verbs like *see* or *read* do not carry such implications. Transitive verbs of "kill-move" type will be called "causative verbs".

2.1.2. It is assumed that causative verbs are derivable from one-place intransitive constructions by means of a causative operation, which has the effect of embedding a one-place nucleus into a matrix sentence with an abstract causative verb, and combining the predicate element of the embedded clause with that of a higher clause. (In recent literature the term "conflation" is used with regard to the operation combining the specifications of two verbs into one simple lexical item (cf. Anderson 1971: 176)). Thus, transitive verbs

³ The validity of the abstract causative mechanism has recently been questioned by Fodor (1970). However, this raises a more general question of the validity of the generative semantics version of transformational theory, which is not my intention to discuss here.

like *move*, *open*, *kill* have been derived from “*move* (intr.)+caus”, “*die*+caus”, “*open* (intr.)+caus”, respectively.

One-place intransitive verbs in the embedded sentences can be classified according to their potentiality of combination with “agentive” or “non-agentive” nominals (cf. Lyons 1968: 383). For instance *jump*, *sing*, *come* take an agentive subject, *die*, *fall*—non-agentive, and *move* either agentive or non-agentive (cf. *John moved* v. *The stone moved*). Causative verbs are typically derived from embedded sentences with non-agentive nominals, rarely from nuclei with agentive subjects.

When the subject of the embedded sentence is agentive, there are two possibilities:

— a) if the verb is one of a small class of English verbs occurring also in transitive constructions with agentive objects (e.g. *march*, *walk*, *run*, *jump*, *gallop*, etc.), the causative operation produces a “conflated” verb. e.g.,

IV. 1. (a) *The prisoners marched* : (b) *They marched the prisoners* —
They CAUSED _s[*The prisoners marched*]_s

2. (a) *My dog was walking* : (b) *I was walking my dog*
 3. (a) *The horse jumped* : (b) *John jumped the horse*, etc.

— b) in the majority of instances, however, the combination of a causative verb in the matrix sentence and the agentive subject in the embedded clause will “trigger off” the application of rules for the productive “non-conflated”, “overtly causative” constructions with the auxiliary verbs *make*, *get*, *have*, *cause*, e.g.,

V. 1. (a) *John sings* : (b) *Bill makes John sing*
 2. (a) *The doctor came* : (b) *Bill got the doctor to come*
 3. (a) *He left* : (b) *We had him leave*

For a discussion of “overtly” causative constructions see 2.2. of the present paper.

2.1.3. Causative verbs in English fall into several subclasses according to their surface representations. Some of them are morphologically related to intransitive verbs from which they have been derived, others display different lexicalizations. Compare the following examples:

$S_{\text{non-agentive}}$	$V_{\text{intr.}}$	$S_{\text{ag}}-V_{\text{tr}}-O_{(\text{non-agentive})}$
VI. 1. (a) <i>The tree has fallen</i>		: <i>Someone has felled the tree</i>
(b) <i>The rope was slack</i>		: <i>John slackened the rope</i>
(c) <i>The metal was solid</i>		: <i>Bill solidified the metal</i>
2. (a) <i>The door opened</i>		: <i>John opened the door</i>
(b) <i>The road became narrower</i>		: <i>They narrowed the road</i>

3. (a) <i>Bill died</i>	: <i>John killed Bill</i>
(b) <i>The book fell</i>	: <i>Susan dropped the book</i>
4. —	: <i>They damaged the table</i>

Class 1 illustrates causative verbs derived from their intransitive equivalents by certain morphological processes, class 2 exemplifies the group of verbs performing both transitive and intransitive roles without a change of forms, class 3 represents verbs with different “lexicalizations” in intransitive and transitive functions, class 4—causative verbs without notionally obvious intransitive equivalents. All these classes will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections (2.1.4 - 2.1.7).

2.1.4. Causative verbs of class 1 are morphologically related to their intransitive equivalents. Sentence VI. 1. (a) illustrates a group of old causatives derived (from the historical point of view) from intransitive verbs by what were once more or less productive morphological processes (cf. Jespersen 1927: 16.5.1; 16.7) However, most of the old morphological causatives have disappeared, only a few are left comparatively intact in Modern English, e.g. *lay* : *lie*, *set* : *sit*.

There do occur in English what might appear to be productive causative prefixes or suffixes, as those in *enrich*, *soften*, *intensify*, *legalize*, etc. Two of them, *-en* and *-fy*, typically occur with causatives corresponding to intransitive “verbal adjectives”, e.g.

<i>harden</i>	: <i>hard</i>
<i>loosen</i>	: <i>loose</i>
<i>thicken</i>	: <i>thick</i>
<i>solidify</i>	: <i>solid</i> , etc.

However, the same forms are found with the simple intransitive verbs — “inchoative”⁴ equivalents of the causatives, cf.

VII. (a) *The metal was hard (solid)*.
 (b) *The metal hardened (solidified)* (=became hard/solid).
 (c) *John hardened (solidified) the metal* (=made it hard/solid).

This suggests that *-en* and *-fy* are verbalizing suffixes and not specifically causative. It should also be noted that the formation of both causatives and inchoatives by means of *-en*, *-fy* suffixation is no longer a productive process and it does not generally apply to adjectives, only to exceptional ones. The following examples (quoted after Lakoff 1970: 40) make it clear:

⁴ The term is used to denote verbs expressing “the beginning of an action” (cf. Jespersen 1927: 16. 7.) In the configurational approach inchoative verbs are derived from the intransitive object sentences, embedded in matrix sentences with the abstract ‘inchoative’ verb: *become*, *get*.

	adjective	inchoative verb	causative verb
	<i>hard</i>	<i>harden</i>	<i>harden</i>
	<i>loose</i>	<i>loosen</i>	<i>loosen</i>
	<i>red</i>	<i>reddden</i>	<i>reddden</i>
but:	<i>sharp</i>	* <i>sharpen</i>	<i>sharpen</i>
	<i>fat</i>	* <i>fatten</i>	* <i>fatten</i>
	<i>green</i>	* <i>greenen</i>	* <i>greenen</i>

The only quasi-productive causative suffix is *-ize*, added particularly to "adjectives" or nouns, e.g. *legalize*, *characterize*, *actualize*, *computerize*, *synthetize*. However, it also occurs in inchoatives, as in *materialize*.

2.1.5. Class 2 contains verbs used in intransitive and transitive functions without a change of form. Other members of this class are *change*, *grow*, *develop*, *open*, *move*, *close*, *start*, *begin*, *break*, *crack*, *split*, *tear*, etc., the "move—and—change class verbs" (cf. Jespersen 1927: 16.4.1). Such causative verbs can be described as derived from the corresponding intransitive verbs (identical in phonological form) by means of a morphological process of "zero modification" (cf. Lyons 1968: 8. 2.8). Within the scope of this subclassification fall verbs of the "march—walk" type exemplified in (IV), and causative verbs derived through the same process from "adjectival verbs" (traditional adjectives). Thus, *She warms the milk* is related to *The milk is warm* in the same way as *They begin the play* is related to *The play begins*. Other verbs of this type are *cool*, *empty*, *fit*, *clear*, *weary*, etc. (cf. Jespersen 1927: 16.5.1).

2.1.6. In some cases the presence of +causative is associated with a distinct lexical item in the two-place construction, e.g. *kill* : *die* (cf. VI. 3.). Then we speak of different lexicalizations of one verb, i.e. of its alternative, syntactically conditioned phonological realizations. The causative verb *kill* can be interpreted as lexical realization of "*die* +caus", *drop* as derived from "*fall* +caus". It is necessary to allow for widespread suppletion if semantic representations are to be matched with appropriate paradigms of surface forms.

According to these assumptions also some three-place verbs (i.e. combining with three nominals) can be interpreted as derived from two-place constructions by means of the operation of causativity (cf. Lyons 1968: 8.2.14). Thus, *give* may be regarded as the lexicalized causative of *have*:

John gives the book to Mary ← *John CAUSES* _s [*Mary has the book*]_s, where the subject of the underlying two-place nucleus is transformed into an indirect object with the three-place causative verb. Similarly, *show* can be interpreted as the three-place causative of *see*:

John shows the book to Mary ← *John CAUSES* _s [*Mary sees the book*]_s,
Notice also verbs like *persuade*, presumably derived from the two-place "believe" with a sentential nominal as its object (cf. Lakoff 1970: 10.1), e.g.,

John persuaded Harry that Bill left ←

John CAUSED _s [*Harry believed* _s [*Bill left*]_s]_s.

2.1.7. Finally, according to the assumptions adopted in the present paper (cf. 2.1.1), causative verbs must include a class of transitive verbs which have no notionally obvious intransitive equivalents, but imply some sort of "change of state" in the object, e.g., *dismantle*, *ruin*, *damage*, *repair*, etc.

Notionally, it would not seem unreasonable to apply the causative interpretation to some traditionally "intransitive" verbs (e.g. *John moved* corresponding to a causative structure with a reflexive object *John moved himself*), and verbs with the object of result (e.g. *John painted a picture*). However, further consideration of these structures would introduce additional complications.

2.2. "Complex" causative constructions.

2.2.1. In some causative constructions the underlying representations are not matched by "simple" lexical items in the surface structure (e.g., *cause to be responsible*, *cause to leave*, etc.). In such cases the causative "link" is realized as one of the causative auxiliaries *make*, *have*, *get*, *cause* occurring in "complex" overtly causative patterns, e.g.,

VIII. 1. *John made Bill responsible (for it)* : *Bill was responsible (for it)*

2. <i>John made Bill leave</i>	} : <i>Bill left</i>
<i>John had Bill leave</i>	
<i>John got Bill to leave</i>	
<i>John caused Bill to leave</i>	

The rules for the overtly causative constructions apply to one-place nuclei both with agentive (cf. VIII. 2) and non-agentive (cf. VIII. 1.) subjects. It should be noticed, however, that while a large part of verbs combining with non-agentive nominals are paralleled by simple causative equivalents (cf. sections 2.1.3 - 2.1.6 of the present paper), verbs with agentive subjects in subordinate clauses generally require the application of rules for the productive "complex" construction (unless the verb is one of the "walk-march" type, cf. 2.1.2)

Examples:

IX. 1. *The teacher made the boys stand up*
2. *John had a doctor come*
3. *I got him to leave*

In some cases "conflation" may be optional and the transitive operation may derive either a simple or a complex variant without any clear semantic implications associated with either of them, cf.

X. (a) *John made the rope slacker*
(b) *John slackened the rope*

Notice, however, the two causative realizations with the subordinate nucleus *The dog is walking*:

- XI. (a) *John is walking the dog*
 (b) *John makes the dog walk*

which seem to be marked with respect to the direct (a) or indirect (b) agency of the subject (in (a) John is the direct agent of the action leading the dog himself, whereas (b) does not carry such implications).

2.2.2. The causative auxiliaries display some difference of distribution. For instance, there is a clear tendency for "make" to require an agentive subject in the subordinate clause, whereas no such restriction occurs in the case of "cause". "Cause" can also take a "that-clause" as its object; cf.:

- XII. 1. *He made John sing*
 2. (a) **He made John die*
 (b) **He made John's death*
 (c) *He caused John's death*
 (d) *He caused that John died*

The overtly causative construction in English is indefinitely recursive, e.g. *Harry made Peter make Tom... make John kill Bill*.

Have and *get*, as opposed to *make*, in three-place causative constructions can take an alternative active or passive form of the subordinate two-place nucleus:

- XIII. 1. (a) *John had Harry kill Peter*
 (b) *John had Peter killed (by Harry)*
 2. (a) *John got Harry to kill Peter*
 (b) *John got Peter killed*
 3. (a) *John made Harry kill Peter*
 (b) **John made Peter killed*

It should be noted that *have* and *get* with the passive variant of a subordinate clause form a very productive pattern in Modern English, derived through double-causativization and implying an indirect agency on the part of the subject with respect to the action expressed by the two-place verb:

- XIV. 1. *John got his watch repaired (by a watchmaker)*
 2. *I must have my car fixed (by someone)*
 3. *Susan had her dress made*
 4. *He often has his shoes polished*
 5. *I must have my house insured against fire*
 6. *I must have my room cleaned,*

etc.

2.2.3. There is a class of verbs which should not escape attention in our considerations of causativity. These are "quasi-causative", more complex verbs, typically involving additional lexicalization of "speech" or "force" as an "instrument", e.g.,

- XV. 1. *He persuaded them to leave*
 2. *He dissuaded them from leaving*
 3. *They requested the passengers to show their passports*

4. *They encouraged the students to read more*

5. *They allowed me to bring my dog into class, etc.*

Other verbs of this kind are: *tempt, warn, force, compel, invite oblige, press, advise, tell, order, etc.* However, a detailed discussion of the configurational structures these verbs enter or of their semantic representations will be beyond the scope of the present paper (for a suggestion of analysing *persuade, dissuade* cf. Lakoff 1970: 10.1).

3. CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN POLISH

3.0. The category of causativity in Polish underlies two typical surface realizations:

- a) synthetic (conflated), expressed by a causative verb, e.g. *pić* (=cause to drink), *ruszyć* (=move), *bielić* (=whiten), *podłużyć* (=lengthen) *indywidualizować* (=individualize), etc.
 b) analytic, with an auxiliary causative verb *powodować, sprawić, czynić*, and a subordinate object clause, e.g.,

- XVI. 1. *Jan spowodował, że wyszliśmy wcześniej* (John caused that we left early)
 2. *Śnieg powoduje, że góry są białe* (The snow causes that the mountains are white)

Causative constructions with the causative link *czynić* corresponding to English *make* (as in *to make something white*) are rare and frequently stylistically awkward, if not ungrammatical, e.g.,

- XVII. 1. *Śnieg czyni góry białymi* (The snow makes the mountains white) but:

2. **Ona czyni chatę białą* (She makes the cottage white)

as opposed to:

Ona bieli chatę (with a simple causative)

3.1. Causative verbs in Polish

3.1.0. Causative verbs in Polish are more numerous than in English owing to the variety of derivational verbalizing affixes, some of them still productive in the language. All causatives fall into several subclasses according to how they are related to the intransitive verbs from which they have been derived.

As in English, there are:

- 1) "morphological" causatives, derived from their intransitive equivalents by (a) productive, (b) unproductive processes of prefixation and suffixation (including the process of "zero modification"),
 2) lexicalized causatives, with (a) suppletive intransitive equivalents, (b) without any notionally obvious corresponding lexical items.

3.1.1. "Morphological" causatives form a large part of causative verbs.

As in English, the old distinctive patterns of "causative — intransitive"

pair formation are no longer productive and reflected only in a few cases (cf. Szober 1969: 56 - 57):

- (1) *poić* (cause to drink) : *pić* (drink)
morzyć (cause to die) : *mrzeć* (die)
gnoić (cause to rot) : *gnić* (rot)
- (b) *sadzać* (set) : *siedzieć* (sit)
stawiać (stand) : *stać* (stand)
łożyć (lay) : *leżeć* (lie)
wieszać (hang) : *wiszieć* (hang)

3.1.2. Generally speaking, two suffixes in Polish, *-ić* and *-ować* (also a complex suffix *-izować* adopted from French on the basis of *-ować*), typically, though not exclusively, occur with causatives morphologically related to their equivalent intransitive, mostly "adjectival" verbs. Of these suffixes the suffix *-ić* displays (historically) the greatest productivity, especially when combined with an appropriate prefix. In such combinations it is productive also in Modern Polish, the derivational pattern "*u - ić*" being the most frequent one (cf. Grzegorzczkova 1967: 5), e.g.

- uaktywnić* (to make more active) : *aktywny*
unaukować (to make more scientific) : *naukowy*
unieszkodliwić (to make harmless) : *nieszkodliwy*
uszcześliwić (to make happy) : *szczęśliwy*
uświadomić (to make aware) : *świadomy*,
 etc.

Other prefixal-suffixal⁵ arrangements deriving causative verbs are:

- (na)-i-ć *napelnić* (fill) : *pełny* (full)
 o - i-ć *oślepić* (blind; make blind) : *ślepy* (blind)
 ogłupić (stupidify) : *głupi* (stupid)
 od - i-ć *odświeżyć* (refresh) : *świeży* (fresh)
 odmłodzić (make younger) : *młody* (young)
 po - i-ć *polepszyć* (make better) : *lepszy* (better)
 prze - i-ć *przedłużyć* (make longer) : *długi* (long)
 roz - i-ć *rozwościeklić* (infuriate) : *wściekły* (furious)
 wy - i-ć *wydłużyć* (make longer) : *długi* (long)
 z-(s)-i-ć *zwiększyć* (enlarge) : *większy* (longer)
 za - i-ć *zaznajomić* (acquaint) : *znajomy* (familiar)

In all these causatives mentioned above the occurrence of a prefix is obligatory, cf.

- polepszyć* : **lepszyć*
odmłodzić : **młodzić*

⁵ For a discussion of the distribution and semantic implications of verbal prefixes and suffixes cf. Grzegorzczkova (1969).

However, there is a group of causatives with "*-ić*" without prefixes, although such formations are less frequent and no longer productive in Modern Polish, e.g.

- suszyć* (dry) : *suchy* (dry)
bielić (whiten) : *biały* (white)
słodzić (sweeten) : *słodki* (sweet)
czernić (blacken) : *czarny* (black)
plaszczyc (flatten) : *plaski* (flat)
ciekawić (make curious) : *ciekawny* (curious),
 etc.

A less common variant of the causative suffix is "*-ować*", present in some already lexicalized verbs derived from adjectives (e.g. *marnować* (waste), *(u-)radować* (to gladden), etc.), and quasi-productive in forming some denominative causative verbs, e.g.

- (a) *proszkować* (to give the form of powder)
 galaretować (to give the form of jelly)
 (b) *cukrować* (to convert into sugar)
 koksować (to coke)
 (c) *emerytować* (cause to retire)

Another quasi-productive suffix is "*-izować*", derived from loan-words and used in analogous formations, cf.

- anglizować* (to Anglicize)
amerykanizować (to Americanize)
legalizować (legalize),
 etc.,

also, frequently in specialized terminology, e.g.

- substantywizować* (substantivize)
nominalizować (nominalize)
palatalizować (palatalize)

It should be noted, however, that all these suffixes (*-ić*, *-ować*, *-izować*), although regular in causative verbs, are by no means distinctive of this class (cf. (a) simple intransitive *skąpić* (stint) : *skąpy*, *próżnować* (laze) : *próżny*; (b) inchoative *materializować się* (materialize), etc.).

3.1.3. A group of causative verbs (corresponding to English "move and change" class) display the same phonological realizations as their intransitive equivalents. In the surface structure the opposition between the causative — intransitive pairs is marked by the presence of the "pseudo-reflexive" enclitic particle *się* occurring with the intransitive verbs, e.g.

- otworzyć* (open) : *otworzyć się* (open)
zacząć (begin) : *zacząć się* (begin)
zmienić (change) : *zmienić się* (change)
gotować (boil) : *gotować się* (boil), etc.

Notice however:

awansować (promote) : *awansować* (be promoted)

3.1.4. As in English some causative-intransitive pairs occur as quasi-suppletive forms,

e.g. *zabić* (kill) : *umrzeć* (die)
prowadzić (lead) : *iść* (go),
 etc.

There are also causative verbs not paralleled by notionally obvious lexical intransitive equivalents, e.g.

reperować (repair), *rujnować* (ruin), etc.

3.2. "Complex" causative constructions

3.2.1. Complex, overtly causative constructions, employing causative auxiliaries *powodować*, *sprawić*, *czynić*, occur both with agentive and non-agentive nominals in the embedded nuclei. However, they are particularly productive in the former cases since simple lexical items combining the specifications of intransitive verbs with agentive subjects, and the abstract causative of the matrix sentence, are rare in Polish (e.g. *poić*, *prowadzić*). Such combinations generally result in productive, overtly causative constructions, with subordinate object clauses in the surface representations, e.g.,

- XVIII. 1. (a) *On sprawił, że wkrótce wyjechaliśmy*
 (=He made us leave soon)
 (b) *On spowodował, że wkrótce wyjechaliśmy*
 (c) *On uczynił to, że wkrótce wyjechaliśmy*

Verbs with non-agentive subjects in embedded clauses are generally paralleled by simple causative verbs in the surface structure. In some cases "conflation" is obligatory (cf. XVII. 2. or XIX. 1.), in other cases it is preferable to the other variant if both are possible (cf. XIX. 2, 3). There are also instances where the complex construction is the only possible realization of the underlying structure (XIX. 4).

Examples:

- XIX. 1. (a) *Dziewczyna sprzątnęła pokój* (The girl cleaned the room)
 (b) **Dziewczyna uczyniła pokój czystym*
 2. (a) *Kobieta uspiła dziecko* (The woman put the child to sleep)
 (b) *Kobieta sprawiła, że dziecko usnęło*
 3. (a) *Chcieliśmy uaktywnić ludzi we wsi* (We wanted to make people in the village active)
 (b) *Chcieliśmy uczynić ludzi we wsi aktywnymi*
 4. *Zrobili Jana odpowiedzialnym za to* (They made John responsible for it)

It seems that even in the case of option the occurrence of a simple or complex causative may be associated with some semantic implications. Sentences XIX. 2. (a) and XIX. 2. (b) seem to be marked as to the direct or indirect agency

of their subjects. Compare also:

- XX. (a) *Jan położył książkę na stole* (John put the book on the table)
 (b) *Jan spowodował, sprawił, że książka leży na stole*
 (John caused that the book was on the table)

Causative auxiliaries display some differences of distribution. All of them can be followed by subordinate object clauses in the surface structure (cf. XVIII), however, *powodować* can additionally take a nominalized sentential as an object, for instance:

Jan spowodował śmierć Henryka (John caused Henry's death)

Czynić, corresponding to English *make*, as in *to make somebody responsible*, occurs in a formally equivalent Polish construction, e.g. *czynić kogoś odpowiedzialnym* (cf. also XIX. 3. (b)).

3.2.3. It should be noticed, however, that causative auxiliaries are generally avoided in Polish. Polish makes more frequent use of "complex lexicalized quasi-causative" verbs with various additional semantic implications, typically involving lexicalization of "speech" or "force" as an instrument, e.g. (a) *kazać* (order), *rozkazywać* (command), *zabraniać* (forbid), *polecić* (tell), *radzić* (advise), *pozwalać* (allow), etc., and, (b) *skłonić* (induce), *namówić* (persuade), *zmusić* (force), etc. (for a list of these verbs cf. Gołąb 1967: 32 - 38, Grzegorzewska 1967: 125). Verbs of group (a) combine in the surface structure with infinitives, dependent object clauses, or, less frequently, with verbal substantives; verbs of group (b) are followed by prepositional verbal substantives or subordinate object clauses, e.g.,

- XXI. 1. (a) *On kazał mi przyjść* (He ordered me to come)
 (b) *On kazał, żebym przyszła*
 2. (a) *General nakazał armii wycofać się* (The general ordered the army to withdraw)
 (b) *General nakazał armii wycofanie się*
 (c) *General nakazał, by armia się wycofała*
 3. (a) *Namówiliśmy ich do pójścia z nami* (we persuaded them to go with us)
 (b) *Namówiliśmy ich, żeby poszli z nami*

3.2.4. The causative operation in Polish is also a recursive rule, as illustrated by

- XXII. *Muszę sprawić, aby Jan spowodował, aby ktoś sprzątnął mój pokój*
 (I must make John get somebody to clean my room)

The above sentence has been derived via triple causativization. It should be noticed, however, that sentences derived through the process of multiple causativization rarely employ causative auxiliaries in Polish. Compare the following examples:

- XXIII. 1. *Muszę postarać się, aby ktoś sprzątnął pokój* (I must have someone clean my room)

2. *Pomalowaliśmy nasz dom w tym roku* (ambiguous sentence:
 - (a) We have had our house painted this year
 - (b) We have painted our house this year)
3. *Obciąłam sobie krótko włosy* (ambiguity:
 - (a) I have had my hair cut short
 - (b) I have cut my hair short)
4. *Musimy ubezpieczyć dom od ognia* (We must have our house insured against fire)

All these sentences have been derived through the operation of double-causativization, and they express indirect agency on the part of the surface structure subject with regard to the action denoted by the two-place verb of the embedded nucleus (cf. corresponding English constructions discussed in 2.2.2.). In sentence XXIII. 1. the overtly causative construction with the auxiliary verb is obligatory, since *Muszę sprzątnąć pokój* (I must clean my room) presupposes direct agency of the subject. Sentences XXIII. 2. and 3. are ambiguous: their subjects can be interpreted as either directly or indirectly agentive in relation to the actions expressed by the verbs. Finally, sentence XXIII. 4. is explicitly unambiguous, presupposing an agency different from the one expressed by the surface structure subject. It should be emphasized that constructions illustrated in XXIII. 2, 3, 4 are very frequent surface structure realizations of causative constructions in Polish.

Another complex causative construction implying indirect agency of the subject with regard to the surface structure verb predicate is a combination of the verb "dać" (give) with an infinitive (of a limited number of verbs denoting various services), alternating with a verbal substantive accompanied by a preposition (cf. Grzegorzewska 1967: 130 - 131), e.g.

- dać znać // podać do wiadomości (=let know)
 dać uprać (ubranie) // dać ubranie do prania (=to have clothes washed)
 dać uszyć (sukienkę) // dać sukienkę do szycia (=to have a dress made)
 dać zreperować (zegarek) // dać zegarek do reperacji (=to have a watch repaired)

The verb "dać", apart from its occurrence in "dać znać", combines the meaning of a causative with the basic meaning of the word "give". Hence alternative constructions where the direct agent is expressed: "dać ubranie do prania, dać sukienkę do krawcowej, dać zegarek do zegarmistrza, dać buty do szewca", etc.

4. COMPARISON

4.0. Causative constructions in English and Polish are basically comparable, frequently equivalent with respect to the ways of lexicalization and formal arrangements. Causative operation in the two languages derives simple causa-

tive verbs as well as complex causative structures. Generally speaking, complex structures are productive in the two languages, whereas morphological patterns of derivation display extremely limited productivity, particularly in English.

4.1. Causative verbs in English and Polish show considerable lexical equivalence. However, Polish causative verbs are more numerous than English. Consequently, some simple causatives in Polish are paralleled by complex causative constructions in English, e.g.

- rozśmieszyć kogoś* = to make sb laugh
zaciekawić kogoś = to make sb curious
odmłodzić kogoś = to make sb younger

For some other examples cf. 3.1.2.

As regards simple causative verbs in English and Polish certain regularities can be observed in the correspondences of the morphological patterns of derivation. For instance, the "move and change" class verbs in both English and Polish form their causative equivalents by means of the process of "zero modification" (cf. 2.1.5. and 3.1.3.). The verbalizing suffixes "-en", "-fy" in English are frequently paralleled by the Polish suffix "-ić" combined with an appropriate prefix (cf. 2.1.4. and 3.1.2.). The quasi-productive suffix "-ize" ("izować") commonly applies to equivalent lexical items in the two languages (cf. 2.1.4 and 3.1.2.). It should be stated, however, that such correspondences are only typical but not obligatory, cf.

- czernić* : blacken (-ić : -en)
zielenić : to make green (*greenen) (-ić : complex caus.)
oślepić : to blind, to make blind (*blinden) (-ić : zero suffix)

4.2. Some most essential contrasts brought out in the analysis concern English and Polish complex causative constructions, displaying certain formal dissimilarities in their surface realization. English makes an abundant use of the productive pattern with the auxiliary verbs *make*, *get*, *have* and a "reduced" embedded sentence, i.e., *to make somebody do something*. This pattern is formally paralleled by Polish *sprawić, że ktoś coś robi*, where the causative auxiliary takes a subordinate object clause (cf. 2.2.1 and 3.2.1), e.g.

XXIV. *He made us go out* (*On sprawił, że wyszliśmy*)

It should be noted, however, that these semantic equivalents differ in respect of their stylistic value. Sentences with causative auxiliaries in Polish are frequently stylistically awkward, and a tendency can be observed in Polish to render the English causative auxiliaries by lexicalized complex causative verbs involving various semantic implications (cf. 3.2.3). So, sentence XXIV will probably be paralleled by

On kazał nam wyjść (He made us go out, using speech as an instrument)
 or:

On zmusił nas do wyjścia (here the verb implies some kind of coercion).

Similarly:

- XXV. 1. *The teacher makes the children work hard*
 (a) *Nauczyciel każe dzieciom ciężko pracować*
 (b) *Nauczyciel zmusza dzieci do ciężkiej pracy*
 2. *They made us wait = Kazali nam czekać*
 3. *He had a doctor come = Wezwał doktora*
 (with a lexicalized causative = call)
 4. *We must have this letter typed = Musimy kazać przepisać list.*
 5. *He had Bill kill John = Namówił Billa do zabicia Jana; Kazał Billowi zabić Jana.*

See also some other examples expressing indirect agency in 3.2.4.

Using translation as a methodological tool it would be possible to provide various semantic equivalents of some causative sentences, e.g.,

- XXVI. *He can't make the car go :*
 (a) *On nie może uruchomić samochodu*
 (b) *On nie może wprawić samochodu w ruch*
 (c) *On nie może ruszyć samochodu (z miejsca), etc.*

However, introducing such contrasts through translation equivalents can cause difficulties in establishing complete lists of possible correspondences.

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