

EVENTIVE AND AGENTIVE CAUSATIVES IN RUSSIAN

0. Introduction

Russian belongs to the class of languages which do not mark the causative meaning grammatically. In the typology proposed by Nichols et al. (2004), Slavic languages are included into the class of detransitivizing languages. In other words, valency increase is not grammatically marked in this language group, whereas valency decrease has a regular grammatical expression (see Padučeva (1998) on anticausative marking in Russian). More precisely, all Slavic languages employ the polysemous reflexive / reciprocal / anticausative marker going back to the Proto-Slavic reflexive pronoun (in Russian, this marker became the verbal suffix *-sja*) which fulfills numerous valency-decreasing functions.

However, in this paper I will pay attention to causative constructions in Russian. Of course, as most detransitivizing languages, Russian has means of expressing the causative meaning, albeit these means are lexical rather than grammatical (see Shibatani (ed.) (1976), especially Comrie (1976), Shibatani (ed.) (2002), Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002) on grammatical means of marking the causative meaning. For instance, there are numerous verbs with the causative meaning, such as *zastavit'* (perfective) / *zastavljat'* (imperfective) 'make', *vynudit'* (pf) / *vynuždat'* (ipf) 'force', *pozvolit'* (pf) / *pozvoljat'* (ipf) 'let, allow', *razrešit'* (pf) / *razrešat'* (ipf) 'permit', and so on.

These lexical items do not show any clear sign of grammaticalization as understood, for instance, by Lehmann (1982) or Bybee et al. (1993). For instance, they do not become morphologically dependent and do not lose any morphosyntactic features of independent verbs, e.g., they have the full paradigm of tense, person, gender and number forms. However, as I will show, some semantic features distinguish constructions with causative verbs from usual constructions with matrix predicates where the main verb is in a finite form and the embedded predicate is in the infinitive form.

In what follows I examine the use of tense and aspect in constructions with verbs *zastavit'* / *zastavljat'* 'make' and *pozvolit'* / *pozvoljat'* 'let, allow' (see Boguslavskaja (2005) where these and some other units are analyzed from the point of view of lexical semantics)¹. I also include the verb *delat'* / *sdelat'* 'make' into my analysis, though, as I will say, this verb has special syntactic and semantic characteristics.

Verb + infinitive construction

Let me briefly sketch the types of verbs which can form the verb + infinitive constructions – thus, they can embed another verb in the infinitive form. The list includes, among others, the following verb classes:

- ⇒ Verbs of wishing: *xotet'* 'want', *želat'* 'desire'
- ⇒ Verbs of verbal causation: *prosit'* 'ask', *trebovat'* 'demand'
- ⇒ Verbs of ability and possibility: *moč'* 'can', *udat'sja* 'manage'
- ⇒ Verbs of attitude: *ljubit'* 'love, like', *ustat'* 'be tired', *nadoest'* 'bother'

This list is, however, not homogenous. Most verb classes (verbs of wishing, ability and most verbs of attitude) admit the infinitive construction only if the subject of the matrix clause is co-referent to the subject of the embedded clause.

¹ The aspectual structure of grammatical causatives is analyzed, for instance, by Ivanov and Babicheva (2010).

However, some verbs (verbs of verbal causation, the verbs *udat'sja* 'manage' and *nadoest* 'bother') do not require this type of co-reference. The subject of the embedded clause must be co-referent to the dative argument of the matrix clause.

In what follows, I will compare interpretations observed in the causative constructions under analysis to other types of infinitive constructions. I will show that their properties differ, which is an argument for the special status of causative constructions.

1 . Present tense of the matrix predicate

The present tense of the matrix predicate does not have any special features with most verb classes. For instance, in (1), with a verb of wishing, and in (2), with a verb of verbal causation, the present tense of the matrix predicate refers to the situation of, respectively, wishing and the speech act:

- (1) Mam-a xoč-et, čtoby ja ej pozvoni-l-Ø.
 mother-SG.NOM want-PRS.SG that I she.DAT call-PST-SG.M
 'My mother wants me to call her.'

- (2) Ja tebjja proš-u bol'she tak ne dela-t'
 I you.ACC ask-PRS.1SG more so not do-INF
 'I ask you not to do so anymore.'

Neither (1) nor (2) bears any information on when the embedded situation takes place – i.e., when I will call mother. The tense form denotes only the time when the desire or the ask takes place.

It is not the case in causative constructions.

Sdelat'

First, let me examine the case of the verb (*s*)*delat'*:

- (3) Et-a pobed-a dela-et Sajns-a
 this-F.SG.NOM victory-SG.NOM make-PRS.3SG Sainz-SG.ACC

 rekordsmen-om.
 record-holder-SG.INS

'This victory makes Sainz (a famous rally-driver) the record-holder.'

The verb (*s*)*delat'* does not form a polypredicative construction. Its object is an NP in the instrumental case denoting the resulting property of the causee which it gets under the affect of the causer.²

The sentence (3), found in Google, is not uttered in the moment when Sainz becomes the recorder. It is uttered in the moment when he *is* already the recorder. Thus, the present tense of *delat'* does not refer to the time of causation. By contrast, it refers to the time when the resulting state of affairs ('Sainz is the record-holder') takes place.

² Note that *sdelat'* is not a canonical causative verb in terms of Shibatani (1976) or Lakoff (1987). See, however, Queixalós (2002) where the author argues that verbs with causative meaning taking two nominal arguments, which cannot govern a situation as an argument, can also be regarded as causative verbs.

Note that the interpretation as in (3) is only accessible if the causer is a situation. If the causer is an agent, this meaning is impossible: for instance, in (3') where the causer is an agent *novyj trener* 'new coach', the present tense will have another meaning³:

- (3') #Nov-yj trener dela-et belo-golub-yx
 new-M.SG.NOM coach(SG.NOM) make-PRS.3SG white-blue-PL.GEN
 čempion-ami.
 champion-PL.INS

'The new coach victory makes white-blues champions.'

In this case the present tense can only refer to the time of causation – in other words, to the moment of speech "Dinamo" is not champions, and the new coach is in the course making them champions.

Let me now examine other causative verbs, *zastavit'* and *pozvolit'*. They behave syntactically as canonical lexical causatives.

Zastavit' and pozvolit'

With *zastavit'* and *pozvolit'*, the situation is roughly the same as with *sdelat'*. Confirm, for instance, the interpretation of tense in (4):

- (4) Kreditn-aja istorij-a Rogozin-a zastavlja-et
 credit-F.SG.NOM story-SG.NOM Rogozin-SG.GEN make-PRS.3SG
 somneva-t'-sja v naliči-i u nego čest-i.
 doubt-INF-REFL in presence-SG.GEN at he.GEN honour-SG.GEN

'Rogozin's 'credit story' makes (us) doubt that he has any honour.'

In (4), the present tense *zastavljaet* does not refer to the time of the causing event (the 'credit story'). It rather denotes the time when the speaker doubts that Rogozin has any honour – in other words, the present tense of the causative, just as with *sdelat'*, designates the time of the caused event. The sole difference between *sdelat'* and *zastavit'* is examples with *zastavit'* all have another interpretation, when the present tense does not refer to either the time of causation or that of the caused situation (see Section 3 below).

The same interpretation, as we have seen, is impossible with other verbs, such as *xotet'* or *prosit'*, taking an infinitive construction or a subordinate clause as an argument. Note also that the same interpretation is at least improbable, if not impossible, for *zastavljat'* if the causer is an agent:

- (5) Rogozin zastavlja-et
 Rogozin-SG.NOM make-PRS.3SG
 somneva-t'-sja v svo-ej čestnost-i.
 doubt-INF-REFL in own-SG.LOC honour-SG.GEN

'Rogozin's 'credit story' makes (us) doubt that he has any honour.'

(5) can hardly be interpreted as 'Rogozin, by some of his actions carried out in the past makes us doubt in his honour'. This example rather presupposes that Rogozin behaves NOW in such a way that we doubt in his honour.

What is really important is that constructions like (4) are impossible if the caused situation does not have any duration, it is either momentary or is conceptualized as momentary. Cf., for

³ Maybe the semantic label 'Agent' is not exactly applicable to all examples used here – saying 'Agent' or 'Agentive causer', I mean a causer which is an animate entity, and not an event or an abstract inanimate entity, such as *reč'* 'speech'.

instance, (6), where the caused situation *uezžat* ‘leave’ (in the imperfective form) has a duration (the interval when many people leave the country) with (7) where the perfective variant of the same verb *uexat* ‘leave’ is conceptualized as lacking any duration. The fact that the former is normal while the latter is semantically awkward shows that the present tense of the causative verb really refers to the caused, and not causing situation:

- (6) Rezultat-y posledn-ix vybor-ov zastavljaj-ut
 result-PL.NOM last-PL.GEN elections-PL.NOM make-PRS.3PL
 mnog-ix uezža-t’ iz stran-y.
 many-PL.ACC leave.IMPF-INF from country-SG.GEN
 ‘The results of the last elections make many people leave the country.’
- (7) */#Rezultat-y posledn-ix vybor-ov zastavljaj-ut
 result-PL.NOM last-PL.GEN elections-PL.NOM make-PRS.3PL
 mnog-ix uexa-t’ iz stran-y.
 many-PL.ACC leave-PF from country-SG.GEN
 ‘The results of the last elections make many people leave the country.’

If the present tense referred to the time of causing situation the aspectual properties of the embedded predicate would be irrelevant for (un)grammaticality of the whole construction. However, it is not the case: the present tense of *zastavljat* ‘make’ refers to the time of the caused situation. This is why it is crucial for the embedded predicate to denote a situation which has some duration.

2. *Imperfective past tense of the matrix predicate*

Interpretation of the past tense of the imperfective aspect in causative constructions is also remarkable. The reading is different for agentive and for eventive causers, just as it was the case with the present tense. With eventive causers, these forms can refer to the caused situation only:

- (8) Nabrann-ye v predydušč-em matč-e očk-i
 gain.PART-PL.NOM in previous-SG.LOC match-SG.LOC point-PL.NOM
 pozvolja-l-i im igra-t’ spokojno.
 let-PST-PL they.DAT play-INF calmly
 ‘The points got in the previous match allowed them to play calmly.’

(8) means that the points the team has got in the previous match allowed it to play calmly in the match the commentator is speaking of. In other words, the tense form denotes the time when the team played in such way.

But if the causee is agentive, this interpretation is impossible. For instance, sentences like (9) are semantically awkward:

- (9) ??Svoj-im gol-om Ivanov pozvolja-l im
 own-SG.INS goal-SG.INS Ivanov(SG.NOM) let-PST(SG.M) they.DAT
 nadeja-t’-sja’ na perv-oje mest-o.
 hope-INF-REFL on first-N.SG.ACC PLACE-SG.ACC
 ‘By his goal, Ivanov allowed them (the club) to hope for the first place.’

Note that the interpretation when the past tense refers only **to the causing situation** is unavailable for (9). It is impossible to use this sentence meaning that thanks to the points which the

team got in the previous match the team can play carefully *now*; it can only mean that it could play carefully *in some moment in the past*.

The sentence sounds strange because the imperfective form refers to the time when the causer (*Ivanov*) carries out the causing actions (scores the goal). The imperfective form designates in cases like this a process which has some duration – whereas the situation when the goal is scored does not have any duration.

Let us compare the situation with other matrix predicates. In most cases, their imperfective past refers to the speech act or mental act itself:

- (10) Ja v tot moment xotel-l-Ø uexa-t'.
- I.NOM in that.M.SG.ACC moment-SG.ACC want-PST-SG.M leave-INS
- 'At this time I wanted to leave.'

However, constructions with verbs like *prosit* ‘ask’, *trebovat* ‘demand’ and some other verbs of speech admit a more complicated interpretation.

- (11) V pis'me otec prosi-l menja priexa-t'.
- In letter father(SG.NOM) ask-PST(SG.M) I.ACC come-INF
- 'In his letter, my father asked me to come.'

In (11), the past imperfective form of *prosit* ‘ask’ refers not to the speech act itself, but to its result (the time when the letter is received). Nevertheless, the situation is not the same as with causative verbs. In (11), the present tense does not refer to the time when the speaker come – it is rather refers, as I have said, to the result of the speech act.

3. *The tense which refers to nothing?*

In cases which we have analyzed so far, the tense form of the matrix (causative) predicate refers to the time when the caused situation takes place. However, some of our examples show that

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|---------------|--------------|----------|
| (12) | Dostignut-yje | izmenenij-a | pozvoljaj-ut | NATO |
| | reach.PART-PL.NOM | change-PL.NOM | let-PRS.3PL | NATO |
| | v | dal'nejš-em | otmeni-t' | embargo. |
| | in | future-SG.LOC | cancel-INF | embargo |

‘The attained changes allow NATO to cancel its embargo in future.’

In examples like (12), the present tense or imperfective past tense does not refer to any of the subevents. The causing events *izmenenija* ‘changes’ have already taken places, and the caused event *otmenit* ‘will (maybe take place in the future).

In fact, what the present tense really applies to is the state of affairs such that the embargo can be cancelled. Note that this state is not expressed in any explicit way in (12). The same interpretation is also allowed for (4): it can be the case that we *will* doubt in the future that Rogozin has any honour. However, a more plausible interpretation is that we *already* have doubts, therefore, the present tense refers to the time of the caused situation. The state of affairs in (12) is the result of the changes which have been attained – and it is this resulting state which allows the embargo to be cancelled. In other words, the notion of **the result of the causing situation** is crucial for the interpretation of causative constructions.

The same is true for constructions with *sdelat'*, as in (3). What makes Sainz the record-holder is not only his victory, but also its result: the fact that Sainz managed to win. Therefore, the present tense refers in (3) not only to the situation when Sainz is the record-holder, but also to the time when the resulting state (the fact of the victory) exists in the speaker's mind.

Again, constructions with causative verbs where the subject is an agent, and not an event, behave like constructions with non-causative verbs. For instance, (13) can only mean that the politicians carry out some actions in the moment of speech:

- (13) Politik-i pozvoljaj-ut ljudj-am /
 politician-PL.NOM let-PRS.3PL people-PL.DAT
 zastavlaj-ut ljudej otstaiva-t' svo-e mneni-e.
 make-PRS.3PL people-PL.ACC assert-INF own-N.SG.ACC opinion-SG.ACC
 'The politicians let people assert their opinion.'

The present tense in (13) can have different interpretations (for instance, the event can take place in the moment of speech or habitually). However, it cannot be the case that the politicians *have already carried out* some actions allowing people to assert their opinions. The sentence can only mean that the politicians carry out these actions *now* – in some possible sense.

In the same sense, constructions with verbs like *xotet* 'want', *ljubit* 'like, love' or *moč* 'can' presuppose that the event takes place in the moment of speech (or habitually):

- (14) Vasj-a xoč-et poj-ti v kino.
 Vasja-SG.NOM want-PRS.3SG go-INF in cinema.SG.ACC
 'Vasja wants to go to the cinema.'

Thus, (12) should be interpreted in the following way:

'In the moment of speech the following state of affairs exist: NATO can cancel the embargo'.

This interpretation requires some additional comment.

It may seem contradictory that the same interpretation is unavailable for constructions with agentive causers, as in (13). Why a reading like (15):

- (15) 'In the moment of speech the following state of affairs exist: people can assert their opinion'
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is impossible? It seems that semantically this interpretation would be perfect (for instance, if the existing political system allows people to assert their opinion.

It seems that the reason why the abovementioned interpretation is infelicitous for (13) is that the resultative component which is built into the semantics of (12) is less obvious for (13). In (12), the causer is a situation (changes). As soon as the situation has taken place (the changes have been achieved), the result is obvious, it exists in the world and in the speaker's mind.

In contrast, in (13) the causer is an agent. Though it is obviously the case that the politicians carry out some actions, and that is how they let or make people assert their opinion. However, these actions are not designated in the sentence, and the state of affairs is not inferable from the sentence. Agents do not have any trivial results which are always or usually associated with them. In contrast, events are associated with these trivial results: for instance, the situation 'Changes took place' leads to a resultative state 'Changes have taken place.'

4. Interpretation of adverbial modifiers

Above we have seen that the tense forms can have with causative verbs a special interpretation. They can either refer to the time of the caused event or not refer to the time of any of two events. Another test which is used, for instance, in (Ljutikova et al. 2006) to examine the event structure of the causative situation is interpretation of temporal modifiers. Ljutikova et al. show that in Balkar, when a causative is formed from a transitive verb, temporal modifiers usually admit two interpretations: the first one when they refer to the causing event, and the second one when they refer to the caused event. For instance, modifiers like 'quickly' can mean that the causing event took place quickly ('The father quickly made (forced) the son cook the soup') or that the caused event took place quickly ('The father made the son cook the soup quickly').

In contrast, in Adyghe, as shown by Letuchiy (2009) and Arkadiev and Letuchiy (Ms.) the interpretation of modifiers is less free. For example, the scope of adverbials of temporal localization like *njepe* ‘today’ must include the caused situation, but not obligatorily the causing situation.

In what follows I will show that in Russian, the situation with temporal modifiers in causative constructions is also special and is more similar to Adyghe than to Balkar.

Adverbs of temporal localization

Let us first analyze the behavior of adverbs denoting temporal localization, such as *segodnja* ‘today’, *včera* ‘yesterday’, *v tri časa* ‘at three o’clock’ and so on.

The causative constructions can be divided with respect to this criterion (as well as other criteria mentioned above) into agentive (with agentive causers) and eventive (with eventive causers).

If the causer is agent, with causative verbs, such as *pozvolit’* ‘allow, let’, *zastavit’* ‘make’, adverbials of temporal localization refer to both subevents:

- (16) Včera jej pozvoli-l-i nenadolgo vstat’ s postel-i.
 yesterday she.DAT let-PST-PL for.short stand.up-INF from bed-SG.GEN
 ‘Yesterday she was allowed to get out from her bed for a short time.’

The adverbial *včera* ‘yesterday’ refers both to the causing event (the time when they (doctors) allowed the patient to stand up) and the caused event (the time when the patient stood up). It may be the case that the caused event has not taken place at all (the patient has not stood up), but if it took place, (16) means that the patient stood up yesterday, and not in any other time.

The situation is different with eventive causers. Adverbials of the same type can refer not only to the whole causative situation, but also to the caused subevent:

[Context: The turnover of the Russian market does not decrease]

- (17) Včera et-o pozvoli-l-o Nabiullin-oj doloži-t’
 yesterday it-SG.NOM let-PST-SG.N Nabiullina-SG.GEN report-INF
 Putinu, čto ekonomik-a razvivae-t-sja stabil’no.
 Putin-SG.DAT that economics-SG.NOM develop-INF-REFL stably
 ‘This let Nabiullina report to Putin yesterday that [Russian] economics develops stably.’

In (17), Nabiullina reports the situation to Putin once, and her report took place “yesterday”, so the caused event is what the adverbial *včera* refers to. By contrast, the situation denoted by *eto* ‘it’ (the situation on the market) takes place permanently. It can hardly be said that this situation took place yesterday.

Note that normally adverbials situated before the main predicate cannot be interpreted with respect to the embedded verb: cf. (18) with an agentive causer and (19) with a non-causative predicate:

- (18) Včera Putin svo-imi dejstvij-ami pozvoli-l
 Yesterday Putin(SG.NOM) own-PL.INS action-PL.INS let-PST(SG.M)
 izmeni-t’ situacij-u v gosudarstv-e.
 change-INF situation-SG.ACC in state-SG.LOC
 ‘Yesterday, Putin let (make it possible) change the situation in the state.’
- (19) Včera general prikaza-l soldat-am marširova-t’
 yesterday general(SG.NOM) order-PST(SG.M) soldier-PL.DAT march-INF

‘Yesterday, the general ordered the soldiers to march.’

In (18), with an agentive causer, the adverbial *včera* ‘yesterday’ refers to Putin’s actions, and not to the time when the situation in the state change. In the same way, (19) means that the general’s order took place yesterday (note that it is not necessary that the soldiers marched yesterday and not, for instance, today). Moreover, (19), as well as (18), does not presuppose that the soldiers have dug the trenches at all.

Frequency adverbs

The situation with adverbs of frequency, such as *často* ‘often’ is roughly the same. In constructions with eventive causers, it is possible that a frequency adverb situated before the causative verb refers only to the caused situation. The causing situation (*obrazovanije* ‘education’ in (20) and *nacionalnost* ‘nationality’ in (21)) has taken place once and is not repeated. In contrast, when the causer is an agent, as in (22), the frequency adverb can only refer to the event as a whole meaning that the causing event always repeated:

- (20) Mo-e obrazovanij-e často pozvolja-et mne objektivno
my-N.SG.NOM education-SG.NOM often let-PRS.3SG I-DAT objectively
oceniva-t’ situacij-u.
estimate-INF situation-SG.ACC

‘My education often allows me to estimate the situation objectively.’

- (21) Ego nacional’nost’ vseгда zastavlja-et ego by-t’
his nationality-SG.NOM always make-PRS.3SG he.ACC be-INF
na storon-e russk-ix.
on side-SG.LOC Russian-PL.GEN

‘His nationality makes him be on Russians’ side.’

- (22) Pap-a vseгда zastavlja-et menja my-t’
father-SG.NOM always make-PRS.3SG I.ACC wash-INF
po večer-am posud-u.
in evening-PL.DAT dishes-SG.ACC

‘My father always makes me wash dishes in the evening.’

The same is true for non-causative predicates taking an embedded infinitive argument. In constructions with these verbs a frequency adverb always denotes the repeatedness of the causing situation:

- (23) Prepodavatel’-Ø vseгда pyta-et-sja uvle-č student-ov
professor-SG.NOM always try-PRS.3SG-REFL interest-INF student-PL.ACC

‘The professor always tries to interest his students.’

It may seem that the case of frequency adverbs is not accounted for by the notion of result we used to describe the semantics of constructions like (12) and (13). However, it is not the case.

Indeed, the very fact that NPs like *obrazovanie* ‘education’ can denote the *result* of education does not account for the interpretation of frequency adverbials like *často*. But the matter becomes clearer if we recall another property of results: a result does not cease to exist except in some very special cases. Therefore, it is not strange that, for instance, the result of the education mentioned in (20) can be evident throughout the whole life of the speaker. The case of (21) is even

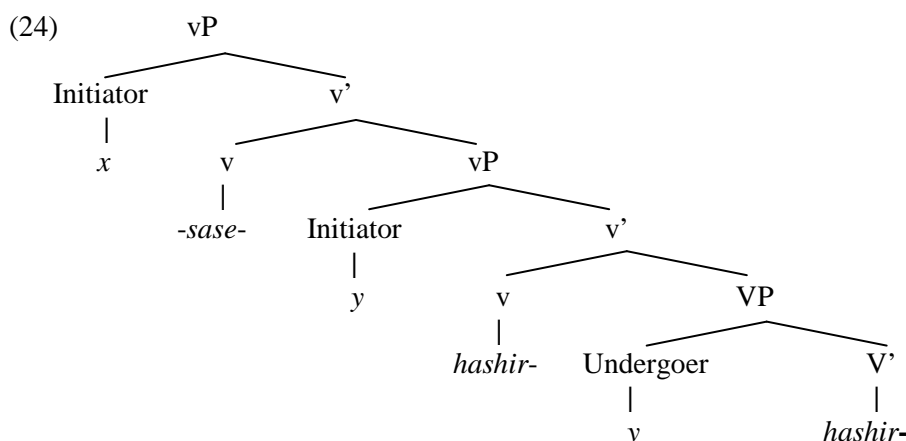
clearer: individual-level properties, like *nacional'nost* 'nationality', do not change throughout the whole life of a person.

Yet, another fact is not accounted for: why the same interpretation as in (20) is impossible in (22) with an agentive causer? The agent (*papa* 'father') also exists for a long time, but the given interpretation cannot be reached: adverbials like *často* are applicable only if the causer has carried out some actions for many times.

The reason seems to be that agentive causers cannot be the reason of the caused situation **by themselves**. According to Nedjalkov, Silnickij (1968), Pylkkänen (2002), the causative construction presupposes that a new subevent is added to the initial situation, and it is the new situation which causes the emergence of the caused situation. In other words, each sentence like *John made Mary go out* really means something like 'John's actions made Mary go out'. Thus, for (22), some events the father takes part in should be added to the semantics of the situation. A default event is not a state, but rather a process or a momentary event – thus, it is not surprising that these types of events has some restricted duration. This is why the default (and the only natural) interpretation for (22) is that the father makes me wash the dishes by different actions in different periods of time – and the adverb *vseгда* 'always' refers both to the causing and to the caused situation.

5. Russian causatives and Ramchand's structure of causatives

Ramchand (2008, see also earlier works) proposes the following syntactic representation of the event structure of causatives. Her structure includes a *vP* projection corresponding to the causation, while the structure of the initial verb depends on its own properties. For instance, in (24) the event structure of the Japanese causative *hashir-ase-ru* [run+ CAUS] is represented. The base verb *hashiru* 'run' is unergative and has both a *vP* and a *VP*. This structure was used by Ljutikova et al. (2006), Arkadiev and Letuchiy (Ms.) to test the properties of causative constructions.



However, this scheme does not take into account the interpretations of tense forms and temporal modifiers of the type discussed here, in particular with eventive causers, especially of the type (12), where the present tense refers neither to the causing event nor to the caused event, but to the state of affairs existing when the causing event has already taken place, and the caused event only has to take place. This state of affairs is the result of the caused situation.

Thus, in order to capture the Russian data presented above we need to introduce this state somewhere in the event structure of causative situations. The precise formal implementation of this requires further study.

The properties of constructions with an eventive causer shed some light to another problem, namely, the set of participants of the causative construction like (12), more precisely, what is the causer of this type of constructions. At first sight it may seem that the causer is *izmenenija* 'changes', and this semantic structure is parallel to that of (13) where the causer is *politiki* 'politicians'. Yet, the two constructions are not entirely parallel.

While in examples like (5) and (13), with an agentive causer, the causer is really the agentive participant which is designated by the subject NP, in examples like (4) and (12), the situation is more complicated. As I have said, the causer is really not the event itself but rather the

result of this event. These sentences can be rephrased as ‘The fact that some changes took place...’ or ‘The fact that I have education’. The event in the narrow sense (education, changes) is a part of another event (education and its result, changes and its result).

The facts which I analyzed in the present paper mean that Ramchand’s structure should in some way be supplemented with a result component. It should allow us to interpret structures where not the causing event itself, but its result is what is responsible for the emergence of the caused situation.

6. Conclusions

In the present paper I analyzed the interpretation of tense and aspect forms, as well as some groups of adverbial modifiers, with causative verbs *zastavit* ‘make’, *pozvolit* ‘let, allow’ and *sdelat* ‘make’ in Russian.

Though the exact formal mechanism which should be used to account for the tendencies observed can be different, it is evident that there are some crucial distinctions between the predicates under analysis, depending on whether their syntactic subject is an agent or an event. Note that the contrast between sentences like (4) and (5) which mainly differ by whether the syntactic subject is an agent or an event show that the semantic representation proposed, for instance, by Nedjalkov & Sil’nickij (1968) presupposing that any causative construction denotes a semantic relation between two subevents (the causing one and the caused one) is not sufficient for description of all causative constructions. In many cases, the way of surface expression of the participants is crucial for the causative construction.

The striking feature of the causative constructions with eventive subjects is that the tense forms and temporal adverbs in these constructions do not obligatorily refer to the causing situation (causation). The tense forms and adverbials sometimes refer only to the caused situation.

I assume that it is the nature of events vs. participants which is responsible for these distinctions. Each dynamic event is associated with some result. I have shown that in some cases it is the result of the causing event, and not the causing event in the narrow sense which the tense forms and temporal adverbials refer to.

The overall result is that causative constructions with an agentive causee behave like usual constructions with an embedded infinitive construction. In contrast, constructions where the causee is an event behave in another way which is close in some respects to the behaviour of grammatical causatives in some languages, such as Adyghe (see Arkadiev, Letuchiy (Ms.)). This seems to be a controversial result, since Lakoff (1987), for instance, considers constructions with an agentive causee to constitute the prototype of causative constructions. However, this result is absolutely natural for a language without grammatical marking of causation, such as Russian. In constructions with agentive causees, causative verbs not only denote the causation, but also bear some additional semantics components (for instance, *zastavit* presupposes that the causer imposed his or her will on the causee by force). In contrast, when the causee is an event, these components become weaker or even vanish from the semantics of the verb.

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