Iryna Kononenko University of Warsaw (Univerza v Varšavi) ikononenko@uw.edu.pl Slavistična revija 71/2 (2023): 175–187 UDK 811.16'367.333 DOI 10.57589/srl.v71i2.4101 Tip 1.01

# Implicit Causativity of the Attribute in Slavic Languages

The article describes the implicit causative possibilities of attributes that are expressed by adjectives in Slavic languages. An attribute enters into causative relations with any component of a sentence, as well as with a group of such components. Since causativity is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon, different principles for classifying the types of cause-and-effect relationships in a simple sentence involving an attribute are possible. The implicitly expressed causativity of the attribute affects the formation of the general meaning of the utterance.

Keywords: implicit causativity, causative, attribute, sentence, Slavic languages

# Implicitna vzročnost prilastka v slovanskih jezikih

Članek je namenjen opisu možnosti implicitne vzročnosti atributov oz. prilastkov, kot so s pridevniki izražene v slovanskih jezikih. Prilastek vstopa v vzročno zvezo s katerokoli sestavino stavka, tudi s sestavinami v besednih zvezah. Ker je vzročnost kompleksen, večdimenzionalen pojav, so možna različna načela razvrščanja vrst vzročno-posledičnih razmerij v stavku, ki vključuje prilastek. Implicitno izražena vzročnost prilastka vpliva na oblikovanje splošnega pomena izreka.

Ključne besede: implicitna vzročnost, vzročnik, vzročnost, prilastek, stavek, slovanski jeziki

#### 1 Introduction

Problems relating to the nature of cause and effect, the interdependence of facts and phenomena, have been and continue to remain at the centre of attention for researchers working in various fields of science – philosophers, historians, logicians, linguists, etc. The origins of the study of the unity of cause and effect can be found in the works of Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus and other ancient philosophers. Democritus argued that each phenomenon has its own cause and, at the same time, acts as the trigger for another phenomenon. Aristotle identified different types of causes, one of which was the intrinsic motivation of objects in nature. At the same time, Aristotle emphasised the possible role of man in the cause and effect chain (e.g. a sculptor is the cause of a sculpture). According to Plato, meanwhile, the explanation of causation lies in the nature of ideas (Ritter, Grunder, Gabriel 2001: 378; Єременко 2021: 191-208). Thus, a causal relationship can cover both events that occur outside the purposeful activity of a person, and situations that depend on the will of the individual.

The philosophical theory of causativity has been developed over time in numerous works by various linguists. Particular interest in the issues of cause-and-effect relationships intensified in the middle of the 20th century, when the attention of academics was largely focused on the relationship between the extralinguistic situation and the syntactic structure that reflects it and which is filled with lexical units (Chomsky 1957).

In modern linguistics, the concepts of "causation" and "causativity" are often distinguished. Causation is considered to be a conceptual or semantic primitive, i.e. it cannot be reduced to simpler semantics (Wolff 2007: 82-111). There is a connection between the extralinguistic situation and the subject (the "actant" in the syntactic construction created to reflect the situation) – the external causer of the fact (Мельчук 1998: 378). The causative situation and its linguistic embodiment are always binary, since one actant affects the other, as a result of which a new feature (action, phenomenon) appears, cf. the thought of A. Potebnya's, expressed at the end of the 19th century: "The reflection of an action on an object is caused by the action of the subject. Causality is composed of the action of the subject and the simultaneity or sequence of this action with the state of the object" (Потебня 1968: 9). A causative microsituation is traditionally called an antecedent, a caused microsituation is called a consequent (Недялков, Сильницкий 1969: 6).

Causativity as a universal category is expressed in a certain way in a particular language (Shibatani, Pardeshi 2002). Causation is usually considered a specific embodiment of causativity, and sometimes these terms are used interchangeably. At the same time, regardless of the language, it is believed that within the boundaries of the syntactic construction, the main way of expressing causativity is via causative verbs, the range of which can be defined widely or more restrictedly (Majewska-Grzegorczykowa 1957; Comrie 1976; Kulikov 2001). These are verbs that include the semantic component (the seme), an 'incitement to action or state', for example, all transitive verbs that express the meaning of "influence," such as *nonpocumu* in Ukrainian (Вихованець 1993: 16, 78). In a number of languages (e.g. Turkish, Finnish, Hungarian), a verb can become causative through the inclusion of certain suffixes (the phenomenon of morphological causation) (Burgess 1995: 16-7). At the same time, in languages such as Slavic ones, the morphological causative is not found in practice. The important elements of the causative construction are the subject and the object of influence, usually expressed by a noun or a pronoun.

In Slavic linguistics, causativity has been described quite comprehensively, with research having been carried out both on material produced in individual languages and on the comparative aspect. The majority of attention has been paid to causative verbs, as well as syntactic constructions that explicitly reflect the causative relations of their components, i.e. preposition- and case-based associations in simple sentences as well as complex sentences with a subordinate clause expressing cause (for example, Petrov 2007; Zatorska 2013; Иванова, Градинарова 2015: 305-12; Леміш 2015; Вапазіак 2020; Всеволодова, Ященко 2020). At the same time, causation remains a subject of close attention for linguists, as evidenced by various new works devoted to this phenomenon. The complexity of cause-and-effect relationships in real situations, and the different ways of expressing them in different languages, have influenced the fact that on the periphery of linguistic research there remain certain language tools that implicitly reflect causative relationships.

The purpose of this article is to describe the causative possibilities of attributes that are expressed by adjectives in Slavic languages. Comparative, transformational, and descriptive methods of research, as well as the method of component analysis, are used. Slavic languages demonstrate a wide range of possibilities for conveying implicit causativity by means of attributive components of a simple sentence. The materials used to write the article were monolingual and bilingual corpora of Slavic languages (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego; Slovenský narodný korpus; Беларускы N-корпус; Български национален корпус; Корпус текстів української мови; Корпус параллельных русских и болгарских текстов; Национальный корпус русского языка; Русско-белорусский, белорусско-русский параллельный корпус; Русско-словенский, словенско-русский параллельный корпус), a selection of examples chosen by the author from fiction, journalistic literature, and the Internet, as well as constructed typical sentences.

## 2 Causative potential of attributive adjectives

An attributive adjective can participate in the expression of cause-and-effect relationships in a sentence with a greater or lesser degree of explicitness. The explicit, actualised manifestation of causation in a simple Slavic sentence is facilitated primarily by the presence of prepositions indicating the reason. One can observe a dense, semantic and grammatical fusion of the components of the substantive and adjective complex, however the attribute plays the main role in the formation of causative meaning, for example: pol. ...Кијаwski doszedł do fortuny dzięki niecodziennym okolicznościom... (A. Szczypiorski); ukr. ...Павутинки обсипані росою і світяться від чистого неба (В. Барка). The causative relations between an attribute and one of the components of a sentence can also be expressed implicitly and fully manifest themselves when transformed into a construction with an supplementary part, for example: rus. И закончим этот пустой разговор (А. Вампилов) (Поскольку разговор пустой, закончим его - Since the conversation is "empty", it should be ended).

Adjectives in the Slavic languages have a number of shared as well as different properties that, to a greater or lesser extent, influence how implicit causativity is expressed by this group of words. It is of fundamental importance that, in these languages, the morphological classes of words are clearly separated, though this does not exclude some transitional phenomena (for example, substantiated adjectives). The consistent delimitation of parts of speech distinguishes the Slavic languages from other languages. So, in English, the part-of-speech features of a significant group of words manifest themselves only in context, compare, for example, *clean*, *air*, *glass*. In Chinese, Vietnamese, and Lao, adjectives and verbs are grammatically close, while in the Turkic languages adjectives and adverbs are grammatically close (Кононенко 2011: 172-3).

The causative potential of attributes lies in the nature of the adjective in the Slavic languages. The Slavic adjective is distinguished by both semantic and syntactic dualism. On the one hand, the adjective in a number of lexical and morphological usages approaches the noun as being a nominal part of speech. In addition, the adjective often

relates to the noun in a derivational way, which, as will be shown below, affects its ability to indicate hidden actants in a sentence. On the other hand, the adjective has a lot in common with the verb. These parts of speech have an indicative nature in their semantics, and they are typical, significative words. These qualities of adjectives create their dualistic syntactic potential: they can occupy functionally polar positions in a sentence – both as a dependent attribute and as part of a nominal predicate. The categorical properties of adjectives create the prerequisites for conveying hidden predicativity by attributes, which, in turn, is the basis for including an attribute when it comes to conveying a causative situation.

The nature of the implicit causativity, inherent in the adjective, largely depends on its belonging to the lexico-grammatical category and derivational type. When comparing the categories inhabited by adjectives in different Slavic languages, it should be noted that while a qualitative adjective in one of these languages usually receives a corresponding qualitative equivalent, a relative (including possessive) adjective may correspond in another Slavic language to an analogue of another part-of-speech type, a single word or even a descriptive construction, cf., for example:

- phrases with quality adjectives: pol. *cienki lód* // czech. *tenký led*; low. lus. *nowe kolaso* // ukr. *нове колесо*; bulg. *тежко време* // rus. *тяжелое время*;
- phrases with relative adjectives: croat. voćna salata // pol. sałatka owocowa;
   сzech. Smetanova opera // rus. опера Сметаны; ukr. сестрина сумка // pol. torba siostry; pol. sala wykładowa // ukr. аудиторія.

An adjectival attribute expressed by a qualitative adjective conveys, first of all, the semantics of evaluation, for example: pol. *wesoly*; slovak. *pekn*ý; low. lus. *niski*; ukr. *ласкавий*; serb. *owmap*; croat. *novi*; mont. *dobar*. In this regard, the causative attributes of a positive or negative assessment are distinguished, for example: pol. Zawsze ceniłam u ludzi *lotn*ą inteligencję (T. Dołega-Mostowicz) // rus. Я всегда ценила в людях *острый* ум (positive assessment); ukr. ...Суспільно *небезпечні* діяння є злочинами... (Кримінальний кодекс України) (negative assessment). At the same time, in terms of their derivational type, Slavic qualitative adjectives usually act as primary ones, i.e. they are non-derivative.

The presence in the Slavic languages of relative adjectives (including possessive adjectives) is a specific feature of these languages, in contrast, for example, to Romance or Germanic languages, in which relative features are often conveyed by nouns. As opposed to qualitative adjectives, relative adjectives are usually non-substantive, which often links the potential causative semantics of attributes expressed in such words with an indication of the actants, i.e. the subject or object of the corresponding situation, cf.: slovak. sokoli; low. lus. slomjany; up. lus. sněhowy; bel. дзедаў; sloven. fotografski; bosn. vatreni; maced. студенски; compare in the following sentences: bel. ... Часам жалезны ліст на даху ... грыміць... (М. Лынькоў) // rus. ...Порой железный лист на крыше ... гремит...; sloven. Sestrin nasvet se je izkazal za zelo dobičkonosen (regionalobala.si).

The semantic possibilities of relative adjectives are very wide and they can also indicate, for example, the time frame which is the cause of the effect, and such a cause can act as a regular or permanent one, for example: pol. ... W cieniu odczuwał się *jesienny* chłód (L. Pawlik). At the same time, word constructions with relative adjectives make it possible to convey not just an object and its attribute, but an impliedproposition (for more about the theory of implied propositions, see: Grzegorczykowa 1998: 79), which is superimposed on the main proposition of the sentence and the causative proposition, conveyed implicitly, for example: rus. *Ночной* таксист не будет работать днем (Таксист не будет работать; Таксист обычно работает по ночам; Поскольку таксист работает по ночам, он не будет работать днем — The taxi driver will not work; The taxi driver usually works at night; Since the taxi driver works at night, s/he won't work during the day).

The ability of adjective attributes to participate in conveying implicit causativity often also lies in the lexical-semantic capabilities of these units. Causation can be explained in the very meaning of the word, compare: pol. *Groźną* sytację spacyfikował Samson... (A. Sapkowski); czech. Rychle se posunula z dosahu *nebezpečného* barviva (J. Čihař) // rus. И вся она резко отодвинулась от *опасного* места; serb. Закочио је на *опасном* скретању.

The meaning of the italicised adjectives includes the semes 'danger', and 'threat', which contribute to the formation of the semantics of inducement to action. At the same time, the deep causative meaning of adjectives can be revealed only in the conditions surrounding a sentence, for example: czech. *Každa* chwilka je nám drahá.

Adjectives in Slavic languages have a number of both general and specific grammatical categories. Slavic adjectives are characterised by three categories of grammatical gender, the majority (except for Slovenian and the Sorbian languages) have a two grammatical numbers. Adjectives decline in all languages except Bulgarian and Macedonian, in both of which case declension has been lost. In addition, Bulgarian and Macedonian are distinguished by the presence of the category of definiteness. Meanwhile, the category virile / non-virile appears consistently in Polish. At the same time, grammatical indicators do not have a significant impact on the manifestation of the implicit causativity of adjectival attributes.

In linguistic literature, there are widespread views on the adjective as a semantically and grammatically dependent part of speech (Вихованець, Городенська 2004: 121; compare another point of view: Dixon, Aikhenvald 2004). The material expressed in the Slavic languages shows that the participation of the adjectival attribute in causative relations contributes to its promotion to the semantic centre of the sentence. Such an attribute becomes an obligatory part of the sentence. The degree of such obligatoriness can fluctuate and increases to the maximum in sentences conveying maxims (i.e. of the aphoristic type), for example: pol. *Zakazane* owoce smakują najlepiej (proverb); maced. На *поклонет* коњ забите не му се гледаат (proverb); bulg. *Сговорна* дружина плаканина събаря (proverb). At the same time, if one delves into the logical-semantic

relations of causation, the adjective attribute is grammatically and semantically based on the noun: rus. ...Надо кончать езду на лысых шинах... (В. Ардаматский) (Поскольку шины лысые, надо кончать на них езду — Since the tyres are bald, one must stop driving with them).

## 3 Causative relationships of attributes with different components of a sentence

An attribute (or combinations of an attribute with a key word) can enter into causative relations with a predicate of a two-part sentence, the main part of a one-part sentence, a subject, an object, another attribute, and a causer, i.e. with any component of the sentence, as well as with a group of such components: pol. Nie mógł się żenić z panną ubogą... (B. Prus); rus. ... Всем ребятам будет интересно посмотреть на ученую собаку (Н. Носов); ukr. ... Гнат вирішив огорнути цей важливий захід суворою таємницею (Г. Тютюнник); bel. І зіхаценне яго вогненнага вянца біла ў вочы Гамэру (В. Чаропка); bulg. ...Снощи холът намистина вонеше на някакъв много тежък парфум (П. Вежинов) // rus. ...Вчера вечером в холле действительно невыносимо пахло очень тяжелыми духами.

Whereas the classical chain of cause and effect involving a causative verb primarily relates to the influence of one actant on another, an attribute included in such a chain means there is an influence of the attribute of one actant on another actant or its feature. Such a causative attribute usually stands with the subject or object.

The activation of the cause-and-effect relationship of an attribute with another component in the sentence is facilitated by the common characteristics of the corresponding words: the proximity of word-formation features, the presence of common semes, etc.: rus. В *бронзовом* воздухе *бронзовели* лица людей и складки одежд (Ю. Нагибин), where the common root of the words *бронзовый*, *бронзоветь* із *бронз*-, so the common seme is 'bronze kolor'; ukr. Полум'яний дід довго не міг прочахнути (О. Довженко), where the general seme is 'temperature'; bel. ...Не гэтак балюча *ўпіваўся* ў мяне яе *калючы* позірк (А. Крэйдзіч), where the common seme is 'sharpness'. At the same time, the logical-semantic relations of the sentence components with common semes contribute to the actualisation of both these components and the causation connecting them.

Potentially, an attribute can convey the semantics of both cause and effect (or the adjective can be part of a syntactic group that has the meaning of cause or effect). However, the attribute is primarily included in the scope of cause, not effect. So, if causative relations combine an attribute and a verbal predicate, the cause (antecedent) is the attribute, and the consequence (consequent) is the predicate, for example: pol. ...Krze łamały się pod *potężnymi* stopami wiedźmy... (H. Sienkiewicz) (Ponieważ stopy były potężne, krze się łamały - Since the feet were huge, the ice floes broke); ukr. Вона тим часом намагалася сховати від мене свої *босі* ноги (П. Загребельний) (Оскільки ноги були босі, вона намагалася їх від мене сховати - Since her feet were bare, she tried to hide them from me). This tendency is linked to the fact that an "attribute and

арроsition mean features already given in a defined situation before the action occurs" (Потебня 1958: 122), i.e., the attribute as an established (constant) feature comes first in comparison with the verbal predicate in the time sequence chain (Кононенко 2009: 252). The concept of "consequence" can be expanded. It is not only a change in the state of an object as a result of an influence on it, but a conclusion, a result. However, if in sentences with a causative attribute the predicate verb is a causative, it does not denote a consequence, but becomes an intermediary between the subject and the object of the cause-and-effect relationship, for example: ukr. До того чудернацького кроку могла спричинитися не вбогість думки, а безпросвітна нужденність філософа і палке бажання вибратися із неї будь-якою ціною (В. Земляк).

It is natural that if two attributes are involved in the issue of causation, one of them conveys the cause (belongs to the cause group), and the other conveys the effect, for example: ukr. ... Найбільша ганьба для вавилонянина — вийти на люди в нікудишній сорочці (В. Земляк) (the cause — нікудишня сорочка, the effect — найбільша ганьба). An interdependence of components is also possible. Such sentences can be transformed (interpreted) in such a way that both components included in the causative relationship can act as a cause (condition). At the same time, the attribute combines the meaning of the consequence and the logical evaluative conclusion: ukr. ...Ратиці залишали на мокрій землі чіткий слід... (Г. Тютюнник) (Оскільки земля була мокрою, ратиці залишали на ній чіткий слід; Оскільки слід був чітким, значить, земля була мокрою - Since the ground was wet, the rats left a obvious track on it; Since the track was obvious, it means the ground was wet).

In some simple sentences reasons follow one after another, and they have a different temperal relationship. At the same time, a prerequisite and a cause can be distinguished within the causative chain. The prerequisite creates the possibility of the appearance of a cause, while the cause brings about the effect. Causation relations can already arise within the boundaries of a substantive-adjective combination. Delving into a sentence, an adjectival attribute of such a combination can also enter into causative relations with other parts of the sentence, for example: pol. *Erozja wiatrowa* zmieniła rzeźbę terenu (Erozja jest skutkiem działania wiatru; Erozja zmieniła rzeźbę terenu – Erosion is the result of the action of the wind; Erosion changed the terrain); ukr. *У сніговій калюжі* собака заморозив лапи (Калюжа утворилася внаслідок часткового розтоплення снігу; Оскільки в калюжі є сніг, собака заморозив лапи – The puddle was formed as a result of the partial melting of the snow; Since there is snow in the puddle, the dog's paws froze).

The implicitness of the semantic-syntactic relations of an attribute with another component (several components) in a sentence sometimes leads to a duality, an ambiguity in the interpretation of such relations. A condition, concession, opposition, etc., can overlap with causation, cf. for example: ukr. ...Ïï у селі за маленький зріст звали маленькою Марфою... (Гр. Тютюнник) (a combination of rapprochement and causation); ukr. Вершник, не відповідаючи, зліз з коня, дужою рукою легко відсторонив Тимка від биків... (Гр. Тютюнник) (a combination of causation, conditionality, and

antithesis). Perhaps the authors deliberately wanted to give the reader an opportunity to delve deeper into the text, to unravel their hidden ideas, or perhaps they did not foresee the potential contamination of propositions.

## 4 The main types of implicit attributive causativity

Since causativity is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon, different principles for classifying the types of cause-and-effect relationships in a simple sentence involving an attribute are possible. Below we will consider different types of implicit causativity in Slavic attributes.

#### 4.1 Internal / external causation

With causative relationships between the components of the sentence, internal and external cause is distinguished (Зеленська 1993: 65). With internal causativity, one referent (actant) is present. Usually in such sentences the causative attribute is placed next to the subject of the sentence, and the consequence is indicated by the predicate, for example: rus. *Гремели железные клапаны* (Ю. Сотник); ukr. Біжимо юрбою, мокрий сніг бризками розлітається (В. Близнець). In sentences with relations featuring internal causativity, a mutual conditioning of components can manifest itself. Such sentences can be transformed in such a way that cause and effect are reversed, for example: rus. Злой ветер загнал все живое под крыши, к камелькам (В. Шукшин) (Поскольку ветер злой, он загнал все живое под крыши, к камелькам; Поскольку ветер загнал все живое под. крыши, к камелькам, он злой - Since the wind is harsh, it drove all living things under roofs, to fireplaces; As the wind drove all life under roofs, to fireplaces, it is harsh).

With external causativity, the attribute of one referent causes the appearance of another object or its attribute, for example: pol. *Dobry żart tynfa wart* (proverb); czech. Ale jej ich *pevná vůle* po změně, předevšim v ekonomické oblastí, *je obdivuhodn*á (I. Ruskovská) // rus. Но их *твердая воля* к переменам, в первую очередь в экономической области, вызывает восхищение; rus. Мне кажется, тяжелый характер деда был результатом своеобразного воспитания (С. Довлатов) // sloven. Zdi se mi, da *je bil težek značaj* mojega deda *rezultat svojevrstne vzgoje*.

#### 4.2 Full / partial causativity

The causation between an attribute (an attribute-subject, attributive-object combination in general) and another component of the sentence may be full or partial. With full causativity, the feature expressed by the attribute completely determines the occurrence of the consequence, for example: ukr. Цілий Київ умістився у просторій церкві (П. Загребельний); bulg. Ние ви предлагаме спасенне, хер Тодоров, в тоя тьй тежськ за вас момент (Б. Райнов) // rus. В этот тяжелый в вашей жизни момент мы предлагаем вам спасение, Тодоров.

With partial causativity, the attribute (or the combination as a whole) expresses only one of the causes; the rest of the causes are mentioned in an adjacent context or become clear from presuppositional knowledge. There are also semantically insufficient sentences, from which the addressee of the speech cannot conclude what exactly is the cause of the effect or whether the causes are fully listed, cf., for example, the sentence: ukr. ...Зарості колючих чагарників надійно захищали мешканців савани від допитливого ока людини (В. Малик). It is not clear from the sentence whether the inhabitants were protected from prying eyes by the bushes because they were thorny, or not. In addition, the consequence may not be disclosed. Perhaps the author has deliberately given the addressee an opportunity to guess what the cause was and what the effect was.

# 4.3 Objective / subjective causativity

The causative relations of an attribute (combination as a whole) and another component (/other components) of a sentence can reflect both the objectively existing relationships of the feature and its consequences, and the subjective perception of the speaker or participant in the situation. With objective causativity, relationships reflect the real situation, the true state of things, for example: pol. Ale on z (...) z niskim sufitem i ciemnymi ścianami chaty zżyć się nie mógł (E. Orzeszkowa); ukr. Він насилу підняв важку валізу. The objective reason is usually known in advance or assumed.

Subjective causativity is observed in sentences in which the attributive adjective expresses a probabilistic (imaginary) feature, or one attributed to the referent. Imaginary cause-and-effect relationships between the actants reflect personal perceptions, evaluative conclusions or associative representations of the author or participant in the situation: sloven. *Oster veter je pregnal* sive oblake proti zahodu (F. S. Finžgar).

Both cause and effect can be subjective, for example: pol. Nareszcie Wokulski *z żalem opuścił mile towarzystwo...* (B. Prus) (a subjective cause); rus. Официанты *в черно-белой униформе напоминали пингвинов* (С. Довлатов) (a subjective effect). The subjectivity of the causative inference, and its emotional nature, can be deliberately emphasised, which is often facilitated by the expression of the attribute via a qualitative adjective in a figurative sense (Кононенко 2009: 253-4): bulg. *Тревожени* спомени смущаваха душата му (И. Вазов) // rus. Душу его тревожили *тяжелые* воспоминания.

#### **5 Conclusions**

Explicit or implicit causativity, presented in a sentence, reflects the universal desire of the author of the text to explain the cause and effect of the phenomena of the surrounding world. Using material taken from the Slavic languages, the article shows that an adjectival attribute- can implicitly enter into causation relations. The semantic and grammatical potential of the adjective gives it the opportunity, under conditions of formal dependence on a noun, to create a system of relationships with different components of the sentence. The implicitly expressed causativity of he attribute affects

the formation of the general meaning of the utterance. Increasing the role of such an attribute in projecting causativity onto the semantics of a sentence contributes to its obligatory nature in such a sentence. Sentences with implicit attributive causativity have a condensed meaning, i.e. they allow the author of the utterance to convey a cause-and-effect relationship with the help of a smaller amount of languistic material.

Further study of implicit relations within the boundaries of a simple sentence seems promising. For example, in the Slavic languages, causative relations can connect elements of a compound predicate (Кононенко 2020: 49), which could also be the subject of further analysis. Such studies are important both in theoretical and applied aspects. They may be of interest to teachers, lexicographers, translators, etc.

### Abbreviations

bel. – Belorussian pol. – Polish
bulg. – Bulgarian rus. – Russian
bosn. – Bosnian serb. – Serbian
croat. – Croatian slovak. – Slovak
czech. – Czech sloven. – Slovenian
low. lus. – Lower Lusatian ukr. – Ukrainian
maced. – Macedonian lup. lus. – Upper Lusitian
mont. – Montenegrin

### Sources

Беларускы N-корпус [Belarusky N-korpus]. Online.

Български наиионален корпус [Blgarski nacionalen korpus]. Online.

Корпус параллельных русских и болгарских текстов [Korpus parallel'nyh russkih i bolgarskih tekstov]. Online.

Корпус текстів української мови [Korpus tekstiv ukrajins'koji movy]. Online.

Национальный корпус русского языка [Nacional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka]. Online. Narodowy Korpus Jezyka Polskiego. Online.

Русско-белорусский, белорусско-русский параллельный корпус [Russko-belorus-skij, belorussko-russkij parallel'nyj korpus]. Online.

Русско-словенский, словенско-русский параллельный корпус [Russko-slovenskij, slovensko-russkij parallel'nyj korpus]. Online.

Русско-чешский, чешско-русский параллельный корпус [Russko-češskij, češsko-russkij parallel'nyj korpus]. Online.

Slovenský narodný korpus. Online.

## REFERENCES

- Jakub Lubomir Banasiak, 2020: Procesy nominalizacyjne w zdaniach wyrażających relacje przyczynowo-skutkową (na materiale języka polskiego i bułgarskiego). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Slawistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Clifford Spence Burgess, 1995: *Mapping multiple causatives*. Simon Fraser University Press.
- Noam Chomsky, 1957: Syntactic structures. Berlin: Mouton.
- Bernard Comrie, 1976: The syntax of causative construction: cross-language similarities and divergences. *The grammar of causative construction*. Ed. M. Shibatani. New York, San Francisco, London: Publisher Brill. 259-312.
- Robert M. V. Dixon, Aleksandra Aikhenvald, (eds.), 2004: *Adjective classes: A cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Renata Grzegorczykowa, 1998: *Wykłady z polskiej składni*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Елена Иванова, Алла Градинарова, 2015: *Синтаксическая система болгарского языка на фоне русского*. Москва: Языки славянских культур.
- [Elena IVANOVA, Alla Gradynarova, 2015: Sintaksičeskaja sistema bolgarskogo jazyka na fone russkogo. Moskva: Jazyki slavjanskich kul'tur.]
- Олександр Єременко (ред.), 2021: Філософські аспекти дослідження каузальності в соціально-гуманітарній сфері. Одеса: Гельветика.
- [Oleksandr Jeremenko (red.), 2021: Filosofs'ki aspekty doslidžennja kauzal'nosti v social'no-humanitarnij sferi. Odesa: Hel'vetyka.]
- Ірина Кононенко, 2009: *Прикметник у слов'янських мовах*. Київ: Видавництво Київського університету ім. Тараса Шевченка.
- [Iryna Kononenko, 2009: *Prykmetnyk u slov'jans'kyh movah*. Kyjiv: Vydavnyctvo Kyjivs'koho universytetu im. Tarasa Ševčenka.]
- Ірина Кононенко, 2011: Системні зв'язки дієслова та прикметника у слов'янських мовах. *Життя у слові*. За ред. В. Скляренка. Київ: Наукова думка. 171-81.
- [Iryna Kononenko, 2011: Systemni zv'jazky dijeslova ta prykmetnyka u slov'jans'kyh movah. *Žyttja u slovi*. Za red. V. Skljarenka. Kyjiv: Naukova dumka. 171-81.]
- Ирина Кононенко, 2020: *Типология главных членов предложения в славянских языках*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- [Irina Kononenko, 2020: *Tipologija glavnyh členov predloženija v slavjanskih jazykah*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.]
- Leonid Kulikov, 2001: Causatives. *Language typlogy and language universals. An international handbook.* Vol. 2. De Gruyter Mouton. 886-98.
- Наталія Леміш, 2015: *Вертеральні типи каузальності у споріднених мовах*. Житомир: Видавництво Житомирського університету.
- [Natalija Lemiš, 2015: Verteral'ni typy kauzal'nosti u sporidnenyh movah. Žytomyr: Vydavnyctvo Žytomyrs'koho universytetu.]
- Renata Majewska-Grzegorczykowa, 1957: Czasowniki kauzatywne i receptywne w języku polskim. *Poradnik Językowy* 2. 49-62.
- Игорь Мельчук, 1998: *Курс общей морфологии*. Т. 2. Москва: Языки русской культуры.

- [Igor' Mel'čuk, 1998: Kurs obščej morfologii. Т. 2. Moskva: Jazyki russkoj kul'tury.] Владимир Недялков, Георгий Сильницкий, 1969: Типология каузативных конструкций. Типология каузативных конструкций. Морфологический каузатив. Ред. А. А. Холодович. Москва: Наука. 5-19.
- [Vladimir Nedjalkov, Georgij Sil'nyckij, 1969: Tipologija kauzativnyh konstrukcij. *Tipologija kauzativnyh konstrukcij. Morfologičeskij kauzativ.* Red. A. A. Holodovič. Moskva: Nauka. 5-19.]
- Ivan Petrov, 2007: Wyrażanie struktur polipredykatywnych w rozwoju języka bułgarskiego. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Александр Потебня, 1958: *Из записок по русской грамматике*. Т. 2. Москва: Просвещение.
- [Aleksandr Potebnja, 1958: *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike*. T. 2. Moskva: Prosveščenije.]
- Александр Потебня, 1968: *Из записок по русской грамматике*. Т. 3. Москва: Просвещение.
- [Aleksandr Potebnja, 1968: *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike*. T. 3. Moskva: Prosveščenije.]
- Joachim Ritter, J., Karlfried Grunder, K., Gotterfried Gabriel (eds.), 2007: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*. Verlag Scheidegger and Spiess.
- Masayoshi Shibatani, Prashant Pardeshi, 2002: The causative continuum. *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation*. Ed. M. Shibatani. John Benjamins Publishing Company. 85-126.
- Майя Всеволодова, Татьяна Ященко, 2020: *Причинно-следственные отношения в современном русском языке*. Москва: Либроком.
- [Majja Vsevolodova, Tať jana Jaščenko, 2020: *Pričinno-sledstvennye otnošenija v sovremennom russkom jazyke*. Moskva: Librokom.]
- Іван Вихованець, 1993: *Граматика української мови: Синтаксис*. Київ: Либідь. [Ivan Vyhovanec', 1993: *Hramatyka ukrajins'koji movy: Syntaksys*. Kyjiv: Lybid'.]
- Іван Вихованець, Катерина Городенська, 2004: *Теоретична морфологія української мови*. Київ: Пульсари.
- [Ivan Vyhovanec', Kateryna Horodens'ka, 2004: *Teoretyčna morfolohija ukrajins'koji movy*. Kyjiv: Pul'sary.]
- Phillip Wolff, 2007: Representing causation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 136. 82-111.
- Agnieszka Zatorska, 2013: *Polskie i słoweńskie predykatory kauzatywne z parafrazą przymiotnikową*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Олена Зеленська, 1993. Каузальність у філософії, логіці та мові. *Мовознавство* 4. 63-7.
- [Olena Zelens'KA, 1993. Kauzal'nist' u filosofiji, lohici ta movi. Movoznavstvo 4. 63-7.]

### POVZETEK

Eksplicitna ali implicitna vzročnost, predstavljena v stavčni povedi, odraža avtorjevo težnjo po razlagi vzroka in posledice pojavov zunajjezikovnih okoliščin. Članek pokaže, da lahko v stavčni povedi pridevnik implicitno izraža vzročna razmerja. Pridevniku njegove pomensko-slovnične zmožnosti omogočajo, da lahko znotraj stavčne povedi vzpostavi različna razmerja. Implicitna vzročnost prilastka vpliva na oblikovanje splošnega pomena stavka in v slovanskih jezikih je mogoče vzpostaviti različne vrste implicitne vzročnosti pridevnikov. Večja vloga pridevnika tudi pri izražanju vzročnosti v stavčni povedi prispeva k njegovi obligatornosti v takem stavku. Stavčne povedi z implicitno pridevniško vzročnostjo imajo zgoščen pomen, tj. avtorju sporočila omogočajo, da vzročnost izraža z manjšim številom jezikovnih sredstev.