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Antoine Guillaume, Françoise Rose

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Questionnaire on sociative causation

Antoine Guillaume and Françoise Rose (DDL, CNRS/Université Lyon2)

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In some apparently rare languages, one of the causative markers is specialized in indicating that the causer not only makes the causee do an action, but also participates in it. It pertains to a type of causation, variably called *sociative causative* (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002), *comitative causative* (Tupi-Guarani tradition, Cf. Rodrigues 1953), *causative of involvement* (Dixon 2000). This type of causative function is more frequently conveyed by a causative morpheme also coding direct or indirect causation. We are curious to know more about languages showing a device dedicated to sociative causative, and especially languages displaying a specific associative causative marker (along other causative markers), such as below.

Emerillon (Tupi-Guarani, French Guiana)

- (1) pe-**ro**-porahadj-kom.
2PL- SOC.CAUS -dance-PL.O
'You made them dance with you.'
- (2) o-**ero**-kwa ba'eza'u.
3-SOC.CAUS-pass food
'She distributed food (she passes by and have food pass with her).'
- (3) zawar-enam ka o-(w)**ero**-nan.
dog-TOP.SWITCH wasp 3-SOC.CAUS-run
'The dog runs with the wasps (The dog makes the wasps "run" with him.)'
- (4) zawar o-**ero**-'ar tupawar.
dog 3- SOC.CAUS -fall box
'The dog makes the box fall (when falling himself).'

Cavineña (Tacana, Bolivia)

- (5) E-ra e-kwe e-bakwa tawi-**kere**-ya.
1SG-ERG 1SG-GEN 1-child sleep-CAUS.SOC-IMPV
'I (will) make my child sleep with me.'
- (6) E-ra =tu ara-**kere**-chine torta Don Francisco.
1SG-ERG =3SG eat-CAUS.SOC-REC.PAST cake Mr. Francisco
'I invited Mr. Francisco to eat a cake with me. (I made Mr F. eat a cake with me).'

Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002) distinguish 3 semantic types of sociative causation :

- joint-action (*Mother is making the child play*)
- assistive (*Mother is making the child pee*)
- supervision (*Mother is making the child read a book*)

Depending on the language, sociative causative may be restricted to intransitive bases (Tupi-Guarani languages) or may also apply to transitive bases (Cavineña).

Sociative causative differs from the applicative construction, where a comitative participant is promoted to an object position, in having a causative meaning (and probably in the fact that the causee/object is the main agent of the action, and the causer/subject the “comitative” participant). Indeed, there are languages which display a distinction between a comitative applicative and a sociative causative, as is the case in Wolof, for example.

There is however in many languages a formal syncretism between causative and applicative: Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002) underline the fact that “in a fair number of languages, causative morphemes are associated with the applicative function of introducing a comitative, instrumental or benefactive argument.” To summarize, whereas applicative markers can not take the sociative causative function (but just the comitative one), causative markers may overlap the applicative function.

Our questions are:

- Do you know any other language displaying sociative causative?
- Does it have a specific sociative causative marker?
- What exact meaning does it carry?
- On what type of verbs is it found? (valence + meaning)
- In this language, how do(es) the other type(s) of causative function? Is there any applicative construction? Is it an “and-language” or a “with-language” (Stassen 2000)?

NB : Since the diffusion of the first version of this questionnaire in 2006, it has been noted that many languages showing such dedicated markers are found in South America (Guillaume and Rose 2010, Rose, Vuillermet and Van Dam 2021).

Please share your answers with : Françoise ROSE, DDL (CNRS/Lyon 2), France, francoise.rose@univ-lyon2.fr

Main references:

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