

# Reassessing the areality of sociative causation

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# Sociative causation

**Sociative causation** is a particular type of causation, where the causer not only makes the causee do an action, but also participates in it (Dixon 2000; Kulikov 2001; Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002; Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019).

Semantic sub-types (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002)

- **joint action**           ‘make someone do something by doing it with him/her’
- **assistive**               ‘help someone do something’
- **supervision**           ‘make someone do something, and supervise this action’

a.k.a. causation of involvement, comitative causation

Dixon, R. M. W. 2000. A typology of causatives: form, syntax and meaning. In Dixon, R. M. W. & Aikhenvald, A. (eds.), *Changing valency*, 30–83.

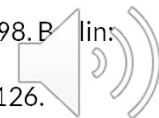
Cambridge: CUP.

Kulikov, L. 2001. Causatives. In Haspelmath, M., König, E., Oesterreicher, W. & Raible, W. (eds.), *Language Typology and Universals*, vol. 2, 886–898. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.

Shibatani, M. & Pardeshi, P. 2002. The causative continuum. In Shibatani, M.(ed.), *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation*, 85–126.

Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Zúñiga, F. & Kittilä, S. 2019. *Grammatical Voice*. Cambridge: CUP.



# Encoding of sociative causation (1)

- Usually expressed by either **direct or indirect causative markers** (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002)

Trinitario (Arawak; Bolivia; Rose fieldnotes)

## (1) INDIRECT CAUSATION

*ma tata ty-im-yon-nu=po*  
ART.M 1SG.father 3-CAUS-go-1SG=PFV  
'My father sent me (there).'

## (2) SOCIATIVE CAUSATION

*v-im-yon=yore te' to 'p-ochkoy-pa'i*  
1PL-CAUS-go=FUT PREP.NH ART.NH other-be.close-CLF.ground  
'We are going to take him to the other side of the earth.'

- Also possibly by other valency-changing mechanisms (Guillaume and Rose 2007)

Guillaume, A., & Rose, F. 2007. A typology of sociative causative: between causatives and applicatives. Presented at the Association for Linguistic Typology VII, Paris, September 25-28.

Shibatani, M. & Pardeshi, P. 2002. The causative continuum. In Shibatani, M. (ed.), *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation*, 85-126. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.



## Encoding of sociative causation (2)

- Usually expressed by either **direct or indirect causative markers** (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002)
- But **dedicated markers** attested (Guillaume and Rose 2010)

Teko (Tupi; French Guiana; Rose 2011: 258)

### (3) DIRECT CAUSATION

wãwĩ      o-mõ-keł      ʔimaʔě.  
woman      3.I-CAUS-sleep      child  
'The woman is putting the child to sleep.'

### (4) SOCIATIVE CAUSATION

o-er-aho      o-ero-ker.  
3.I-SOC.CAUS-go      3.I-SOC.CAUS-sleep  
'He carries her and makes her sleep with him.'

Guillaume, A., & Rose, F. 2010. Sociative causative markers in South-American languages: A possible areal feature. In F. Floricic (ed.) *Essais de typologie et de linguistique générale: Mélanges offerts à Denis Creissels*, 383–402. Lyon: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure.  
Rose, F. 2011. *Grammaire de l'émérillon teko, une langue tupi-guarani de Guyane française*. Louvain: Peeters.



# Guillaume & Rose 2010: results and hypothesis



Map 01: Survey of sociative causative markers in the world (Guillaume & Rose 2010: 390)

Survey of dedicated sociative causative markers:

- 15 **South American** languages (from 7 families)
- Wolof ( Atlantic, Senegal)
- Alambhak (Sepik, Papua)

Hypothesis: dedicated sociative causative markers is an areal feature of South American languages

Guillaume, A., & Rose, F. 2010. Sociative causative markers in South-American languages: A possible areal feature. In F. Floricic (ed.) *Essais de typologie et de linguistique générale: Mélanges offerts à Denis Creissels*, 383–402. Lyon: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure.



# Guillaume & Rose 2010: methodology

## Sample:

- ad hoc dataset
- grammar harvesting, questionnaire addressed to specialists and linguistic mailing lists
  - <http://tulquest.huma-num.fr/en/node/166#>
- no negative data included

## Biases:

- both authors are Amazonianists, network in South America
- long descriptive tradition of sociative causative in this region since Anchieta (1595: 48-49)

→ Representativeness of the data?

Anchieta, J. de. 1595. *Arte de Gramatica da lingua mais usada na Costa do Brasil*. Coimbra: Antonio Mariz.



# Our methodology

“Out of Asia” (Sinergia SNSF, U. of Zürich): multidisciplinary project exploring the diversity of the Americas  
→ Map of American Linguistic Areas

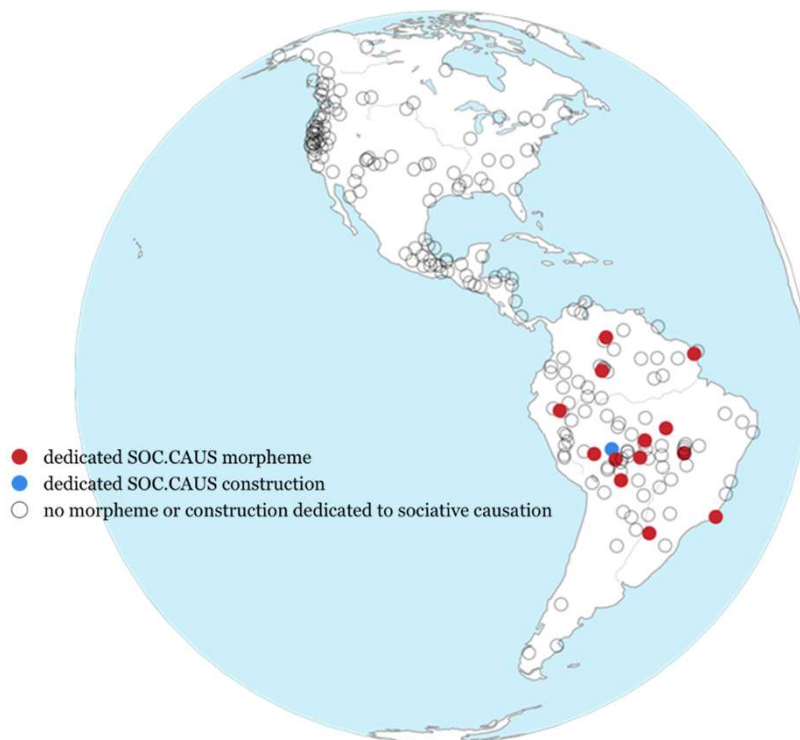
- **Sample of 320 languages**  
genealogically independent, geographically maximally distributed, regardless of typological profile
  - 1/3 in North America
  - 1/3 in South America
  - 1/3 in the rest of the world
- 25 features -- among which **the expression of sociative causation**
  - Sociative causation data mostly harvested and coded by research assistant **Oscar Cocaud-Degrève**
- Bayesian algorithm (*sBayes*) to tell apart **contact** from **universal tendencies** and **inheritance**

only the Americas coded so far for sociative causation

Ranacher, Peter, Nico Neureiter, Rik van Gijn, Barbara Sonnenhauser, Anastasia Escher, Robert Weibel, Pieter Muysken, and Balthasar Bickel.  
In review. *Contact-tracing in cultural evolution: A Bayesian mixture model to detect geographic areas of language contact,*



# Our results



Map 02: Sociative causative in the Americas in the Out of Asia sample

214 languages -- 77 families, 40 isolates  
 115 in North America, 99 in South America

- most languages without information
- **no dedicated construction:** 40 languages
  - direct causative: 32
  - co-participation or direct causative: 3
  - co-participation: 2
  - indirect causative: 1
  - applicative: 1
  - reciprocal+causative: 1
- **dedicated device:** 14 languages -- 7 families\*
  - all in South America (14% of SA languages)
  - **13 languages** with a dedicated morpheme
  - **1 language** (Ese Ejja) with a construction C

\*Families: Harakmbut, Kawapanan, Nadahup, Guahiboan, Takanan (x2), Tupian (x7), isolate (Yurakaré)





# Conclusions

- Acc. to Guillaume & Rose's (2010) survey + the present one
  - Total of **24** of languages with a dedicated sociative causative
    - **22 in South America in 10 language families**
    - 0 in North America
    - so far **1** in Papunesia (Alamblak)
    - so far **1** in Africa (Wolof)
- Dedicated sociative causative markers are
  - not the main device for the encoding of sociative causation
  - but still a significant device, **not a rara**
- Areal hypothesis about sociative causative in South America confirmed
  - by the systematic comparison with North America
  - on the basis of a large and balanced sample
  - other macro areas (Hammarström & Donohue 2014) to be systematically checked by April 2021

Hammarström, H., & Donohue, M. 2014. Some Principles on the use of macro-areas in typological comparison. *Language Dynamics and Change* 4, no. 1: 167–87. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22105832-00401001>.



# Discussion

- Still some biases
  - North American grammars are less exhaustive
  - impact of Guillaume & Rose (2010) stronger on **South American** scholars
- Geographical distribution
  - Amazonian language families
  - either Western Amazonia or Tupian languages
  - Tupian cradle... Tupian influence?



Map 03: Tupian vs. non-Tupian languages with dedicated causative markers in the Out of Asia sample

