Reassessing the areality of sociative causation

SSILA, January 8, 2021
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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


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

\[
\text{ma tata ty-im-yon-nu=po}
\]

\[
\text{ART.M 1SG.father 3-CAUS-go-1SG=PFV}
\]

‘My father sent me (there).’

(2) SOCIATIVE CAUSATION

\[
v-im-yon=yore \quad te' \quad to \quad 'p-ochkoy-pa'i
\]

\[
\text{1PL-CAUS-go=FUT PREP.NH ART.NH other-be.close-CLF.ground}
\]

‘We are going to take him to the other side of the earth.’

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


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**

\[wāṅ̃i o-mō-kel ʔimaʔē.\]

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 & Rose 2010: results and hypothesis

Survey of dedicated sociative causative markers:

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

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

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?

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 Coad-Degrève

- Bayesian algorithm (sBayes) to tell apart contact from universal tendencies and inheritance

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

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 CAUS + SOC

*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

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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 sociative causative markers in the Out of Asia sample