

In some 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. We are interested in this specific type of causative, variably called *sociative causative* (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002), *comitative causative* (Tupi-Guarani tradition, Cf. Rodrigues 1953), *causative of involvement* (following Dixon's 9<sup>th</sup> criteria 2000).

#### Emerillon (Tupi-Guarani)

- (1) pe-**lo**-polahaḍꞑ-kom.  
2PL-CAUS.COM-dance-PL.O  
You made them dance with you.
- (2) o-**elo**-kwa                      baʔezaʔu.  
3-CAUS.COM-pass                      food  
She distributed food (she passes by and have food pass with her).
- (3) zawal-enam    ka    o-(w)**elo**-nan.  
dog-TOP.SWITCH    wasp    3 -CAUS.COM-run  
The dog runs with the wasps (The dog makes the wasps “run” with him.)
- (4) zawal                      o-**elo**-ʔal                      tupawəl.  
dog                      3-CAUS.COM-fall                      box  
The dog makes the box fall (when falling himself).

#### Cavineña (Tacana)

- (5) E-ra<sub>A</sub> [e-kwe e-bakwa]<sub>O</sub> tawi-**kere**-ya.  
1SG-ERG 1SG-GEN 1-child                      sleep-CAUS.INVLT-IMPV  
I (will) make my child sleep with me.
- (6) E-ra<sub>A</sub> tu<sub>O</sub>                      ara-**kere**-chine                      torta<sub>O</sub> [Don Francisco]<sub>O</sub>.  
1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) eat-CAUS.INVLT-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)

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). Wolof indeed displays a distinction between a comitative applicative and a sociative causative.

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

Apart from Tupi languages, Cavineña and Wolof, we have read about sociative causatives in the Peruvian Pre-Andine Arawak languages Nomatsiguenga, Amuesha and Piro (Wise 1986: 593-594) and Asheninca (Payne 2001), as well as in the Bolivian Arawak language

Trinitario (Gill, ms., reported by Wise 1989: 294), in the Equatorial Barbacoan language Awa Pit (Timothy Curnow, p.c.), in Alambalak– Sepik, New Guinea, (Bruce 1984 :55, 155-156) and Marathi -IndoEuropean, India (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002).

Our questions are:

- Do you know any other language displaying this type of causative?
- On what type of verbs is it found? (valence + meaning)
- What exact meaning does it carry?
- 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)?